

# MARYLAND

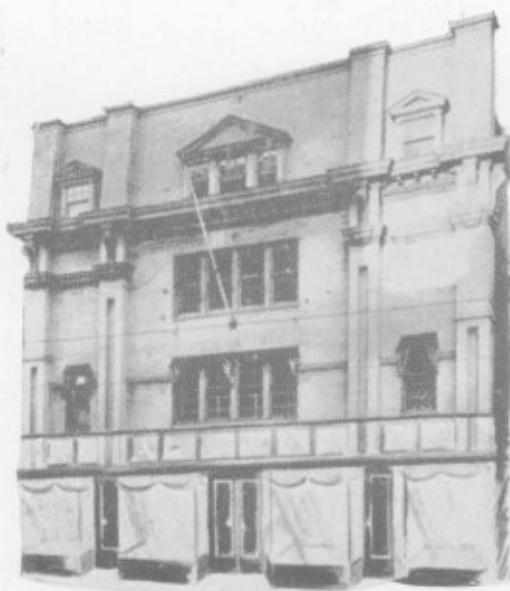
## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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## HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORY OF *A Maryland Institution*

IN 1934 Hutzler's purchased the building at 315 to 319 North Eutaw Street, now occupied by Toytown. This location has had an interesting career. In the early nineteenth century it was the site of the Third Presbyterian Church, and later of St. Mark's English Lutheran Church. Remodeled in 1901, the building became successively the Oriole Theatre, Blaney's Theatre, the Colonial Theatre, and subsequently the Regent Bowling Alleys. It is now a part of the Hutzler Annex.

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## WILLIAM PINKNEY'S MISSION TO THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES, 1816

By HOWARD R. MARRARO



HE STORY of the diplomatic mission of William Pinkney,<sup>1</sup> a native of Annapolis, Maryland, to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1816, was of far-reaching importance not only because it marked the first official diplomatic contact ever established between the United States and any of the states of the Italian peninsula,<sup>2</sup> but also because the indemnity claims, which gave rise

<sup>1</sup> For biographies on Pinkney, see: Rev. William Pinkney, *The Life of William Pinkney*, by his Nephew. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853); Henry Wheaton, *Some Account of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of William Pinkney*. (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1826); Henry Wheaton, "Life of William Pinkney," in *Lives of William Pinkney, William Ellery, and Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1844), 1-84; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 626-629; Horace Henry Hagan, *Eight Great American Lawyers* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1923).

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Ralph Izard in 1777 was appointed by Congress Commissioner to Tuscany, but since he never reached his post, his cannot be considered as a

to the appointment of Mr. Pinkney, were generally regarded as affecting our national prosperity, character, and honor. Indeed, the story of these relations was so important that it arrested the attention of three federal administrations and held the interest of the American people for more than two decades.<sup>3</sup> In his *Thirty Years' View*,<sup>4</sup> Senator Thomas H. Benton (Missouri), a keen and shrewd observer of his times, wrote "that the indemnity obtained from Naples . . . may be looked upon as the most remarkable of Jackson's diplomatic successes." In fact, it was not until 1832 when John Nelson returned to America from Naples that agreement was reached.

The controversy between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies which resulted in the appointment of Mr. Pinkney, went back to the year 1809, when Napoleon I appointed his brother-in-law, Prince Joachim Murat (1767-1815) to the throne of the Two Sicilies. During the Napoleonic wars, Murat distinguished himself as an able cavalry leader. In 1800, he married Caroline, the youngest sister of Napoleon. In 1808, Napoleon appointed him to the throne of Naples, and although he bestowed upon himself the title of Joachim Napoleon, King of the Two Sicilies, which he held until 1815, his sovereignty never extended to the island of Sicily proper. After the fall of Napoleon, Murat lost his throne, was courtmartialed, and shot at Pizzo, in Calabria, on October 13, 1815.

But let us go back to the origin of the indemnity claims. On July 1, 1809, the minister of foreign affairs of Naples addressed to Mr. Frederick Degan, the United States consul there, an official invitation to all American vessels, provided with proper papers

diplomatic mission. Nor can Philip Mazzei's fruitless mission to the Grand Duke of Tuscany during the Revolution (1779-1783) be viewed as having a diplomatic character. In fact, until Pinkney's appointment, the United States had been represented in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by a consul in Naples (1796), Palermo (1805) and Messina (1805). See "Personal Records of the Department of State."

<sup>3</sup> The convention to terminate the reclamations of the United States Government was not concluded until October 14, 1832, under Jackson's administration. For the text of this treaty and a brief account of its background, see Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), IV, 711-721. An account of the claims, their origin, negotiations, and settlement will be found in John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), V, 4575-4589.

<sup>4</sup> New York: 1854, I, 604.

and certificates of origin, to repair to the Neopolitan ports.<sup>5</sup> Such vessels accordingly entered the port. Shortly afterwards, however, to carry out Napoleon's wishes, Murat promulgated decrees which enabled him to seize and confiscate the American vessels that ventured into Neopolitan waters; sell their cargoes for the benefit of the government; and take some of the vessels into the public service. These ships remained in that service and were still in it at the time that the legitimate ruler, King Ferdinand I, who had been restored by the Congress of Vienna as the King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was washing his hands of all participation in the plunder of the usurper Murat.

At the close of the second war with Great Britain, the United States Government demanded reparation and indemnity for the losses American merchants had sustained by the illegal seizure and confiscation of property. Accordingly, on February 28, 1816, Mr. Pinkney, who was generally regarded as a leading statesman and diplomatist of his day, was nominated by President Madison as Minister to Russia, "with a special mission to the King of the Two Sicilies."<sup>6</sup> The nomination of Mr. Pinkney as Minister to Russia was confirmed on March 7, but it was rejected in respect to the special mission to the King of the Two Sicilies.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, on April 17, Mr. Pinkney was again nominated by the following presidential message:

It being presumed that further information may have changed the views of the Senate, relative to the importance and expediency of a mission to Naples, for the purpose of negotiating indemnities to our citizens for spoliations committed by the Neopolitan government, I nominate William Pinkney, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia, to be Minister Plenipotentiary to Naples, especially charged with that trust.<sup>8</sup>

The nomination of Mr. Pinkney was duly confirmed by the

<sup>5</sup> In his letter to Frederick Degan, the United States Consul in Naples, the Duke of Gallo, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated that it was "the intention of His Majesty, as a general measure, freely to admit American vessels coming directly into his ports, provided they had regular papers and had not by paying duty to Great Britain, or by submitting to be searched by English cruisers, brought themselves within the decrees of December 21, 1806, and January 9, 1808." Degan ceased to be Consul the same year. Alexander Hammett was appointed in December to succeed him. For a good account of the entire controversy, see the Rev. Christopher Petrotta, *The Claims of the United States against the Kingdom of Naples*. (Washington, D. C.: Belvedere Press, 1926).

<sup>6</sup> *Executive Journal*, III, 32.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 45, April 20.

Senate on April 23, 1816, by a vote of eighteen to fifteen,<sup>9</sup> and he was commissioned on the same day.<sup>10</sup> Three days later, on April 26, 1816, in a communication to the King of the Two Sicilies, whom he addressed as "Great and Good Friend," President Madison stated that in order to confirm between the two countries "perfect harmony and a good correspondence and to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction by a friendly discussion," he had appointed, with the advice and consent of the Senate, Mr. Pinkney to be "special minister to your Majesty on subjects of high importance to both nations."<sup>11</sup>

In his instructions to Mr. Pinkney, dated May 11, 1816, Secretary of State James Monroe reviewed briefly the nature of the controversy with the Neapolitan Government and urged Mr. Pinkney to manifest a spirit of conciliation towards the Government of Naples, adding: "The President [Mr. Madison] desires . . . that you will use every effort in your power to terminate the business with Naples as soon as it may be possible, and that you will proceed thence, immediately afterwards, to St. Petersburg."<sup>12</sup>

The motives which induced Mr. Pinkney to accept this double mission are revealed in a conversation he had with one of his friends to whom he is reported to have said: "There are those among my friends, who wonder that I will go abroad, however honorable the service. They know not how I toil at the bar; they know not all my anxious days and sleepless nights; I must breathe awhile; the bow for ever bent will break. . . ." "Besides," he added, "I want to see Italy; the orators of Britain I have heard; but I want to visit the classic land, the study of whose poetry and eloquence is the charm of my life; I shall set my foot on its shores with feelings that I cannot describe, and return with new enthusiasm, I hope with new advantages, to the habits of public speaking."<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Pinkney embarked, for the purpose of proceeding to his foreign missions, on board the *Washington*, a ship of the line, attached to the United States Mediterranean Squadron. The

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>10</sup> Hunter Miller (editor), *Treaties*, III, 716-717.

<sup>11</sup> General Records of the Department of State. Record Group No. 59. Credences, Volume 1 (Oct. 9, 1789-Nov. 16, 1824). National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>12</sup> Ms., National Archives. See below for the full text of this instruction.

<sup>13</sup> Wheaton, *Life*, 57.

vessel cast anchor in the Bay of Naples on July 13, and was immediately ordered into quarantine because it had touched at Gibraltar. Though he appealed to the Neapolitan Government to have the period of the quarantine shortened, Mr. Pinkney was informed that however much it was regretted by the Government, a quarantine of thirteen or fourteen days was indispensable. And, in fact, Mr. Pinkney and his company were not permitted to land until July 26. On the following day, he informed the Marquis di Circello, the Neapolitan Minister of Foreign Affairs,<sup>14</sup> by official note, of his arrival and character. The Marquis, in his reply, appointed July 31, for Mr. Pinkney's first interview with him.<sup>15</sup>

During the following two weeks, Mr. Pinkney and his wife were received by His Majesty the King. Together with Mrs. Pinkney and the members of his staff, he attended court, in his official capacity, to celebrate the birthday of His Royal Highness, the hereditary Prince of the Two Sicilies. In a despatch, dated August 24, 1816, to Secretary of State Monroe, Mr. Pinkney stated that he had been very kindly and respectfully received by the Neapolitan Government, adding that he had seen the Marquis di Circello several times and the King twice. He admitted, however, that he could not yet say positively what action would be taken on the spoliation matter.<sup>16</sup> In another despatch to Secretary of State Monroe, dated August 29, 1816, Mr. Pinkney wrote that his reception by the Neapolitan Government had been "extremely friendly, and in the highest degree respectful to the Government of the United States."<sup>17</sup>

In his first interview with the Marquis the conversation was conducted in French, because, although the Neapolitan had been for several years minister at London, he could, to Mr. Pinkney's surprise, neither speak nor understand a word of English. The conversation was therefore conducted in French which the Neapolitan spoke better than Mr. Pinkney. With some naïvété, Mr. Pinkney noted that in this language "amidst a good deal of well-managed discourse on his part which rather related to me than

<sup>14</sup> Tommaso di Somma, Marquis di Circello (1737-1826). One of the most outstanding men in the Kingdom. In 1805 he was Neapolitan minister of foreign affairs and in 1821 he became President of the Provisional Government of Naples. From June 4, 1805, to June 10, 1822, he was minister of foreign affairs.

<sup>15</sup> Wheaton, *Life*, 152.

<sup>16</sup> MS, National Archives.

<sup>17</sup> MS, National Archives. See below for the full text of this despatch.

my mission, he [Marquis di Circello] made several observations which had a bearing upon my principal errand." The Neapolitan laid particular emphasis on the poverty of their public treasury, and "the rapacity of Mons. Murat." For a period of about two weeks, from July 31 to August 11, nothing further was done. On the last-named day, Mr. Pinkney, again visited the Marquis di Circello, reminding him of the principal object of his mission. To Mr. Pinkney's surprise, the Marquis professed not to understand to what he referred as the principal object of his mission; but when Mr. Pinkney mentioned the spoliations by Murat, he seemed suddenly to remember that he had at least talked to him of them before. Thereupon Mr. Pinkney informed the Marquis that he intended to present a written note on the subject. This course, the Marquis replied, would be acceptable to the Neapolitan Government.<sup>18</sup>

In fact, on August 24, 1816, Mr. Pinkney sent his official memorandum to the Marquis, containing a detailed and clear exposition of the indemnity claims and stressing the responsibility of a nation for wrongs committed and obligations incurred by its then present rulers upon a subsequent revolution in the government which stamped those rulers as usurpers in the view of their successors. Mr. Pinkney's argument though temperate and respectful was perfectly conclusive. It left no ground for cavil; no possibility for dispute. It was considered by some critics as one of the most lucid and masterly expositions of the subject in controversy that had ever been issued by an American representative abroad.<sup>19</sup>

It must be pointed out, in this connection, that Mr. Pinkney knew that his presence in the Kingdom had caused great conser-

<sup>18</sup> *North American Review*, Boston, XXI (Oct. 1825), 273-274.

<sup>19</sup> Wheaton, *Some Account*, 150. MS, National Archives. The full text of Mr. Pinkney's letter to the Marquis di Circello, dated August 24, 1816, has been published in several places, e. g., the pamphlet entitled *Message* (pp. 10-16) (footnote 33 *infra*), and in Pinkney's *Life*, 277-287. When it became known in England that Mr. Pinkney had submitted his official note to the Neapolitan Government, the *British Annual Register*, London, LVIII (1817), 132, reported that the presence of the American Squadron which "had the appearance of intimidation, excited great alarm in Naples, almost all of the ships of the royal navy having been disarmed . . . the Marquis di Circello, Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered a note to each of the foreign ministers relative to the American claims, and couriers were sent to engage the protection of different courts." *Niles' Register* (II, 138-140) added that the Neapolitan Government manned batteries with heavy cannon, that 12,000 Austrian troops were placed on guard in the Castle and that Naples counted on the English fleet to cool the ardor of the American seamen. (*American Register*, 1818, 123). See Perrotta, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

nation and alarm in government circles. A panic all but seized the Neapolitan Court on his appearance. The poverty of the resources of the Neapolitan Government and the extent of the American claim agitated and embarrassed King Ferdinand and his advisers.<sup>20</sup> It was rumored that couriers had been hurriedly despatched by the Neapolitan Government to Vienna and to St. Petersburg to find out whether the emperors of Austria and Russia would back King Ferdinand in his refusal to pay the American claims. Meanwhile, under the inspiration of the Neapolitan Government, statements were published in various continental papers, suggesting that the American Government, being in want of a naval station and depot in the Mediterranean, would accept the island of Lampedosa as a full indemnity.

This statement was false. The truth is that informally Mr. Pinkney had advised the Marquis di Circello that Commodore Chauncey<sup>21</sup> had expressed the wish to have the privilege of a depot in the dockyard or public arsenal at Messina or Syracuse in Sicily for the use of the American Squadron. On August 28, 1816, the Marquis replied that it was impossible to grant such a request both because of the precedent it would set in favor of all the powers that had no establishment in the Mediterranean as well as because of the state of peace which existed between the Neapolitan Court and the Barbary Regencies. However, the Neapolitan Government, he added, would gladly grant "occasional facilities" that the American Commodore might request from time to time. Nevertheless, the Neapolitan newspapers, under orders of the Government, gave an entirely different construction to the American request. The following statement, for example, appeared in a Neapolitan paper on September 7:

Mr. Pinkney has had several conferences with the foreign minister. The negotiations have assumed a character of moderation, which would soon bring them to an issue, if the English were not aggrieved by the arrangements. The Americans demand the island of Lampedosa. It is five leagues in circumference and two long; it is abundant in fruits and well wooded; it has a sure anchorage for a small fleet. But even suppose our court should cede it, it is to be considered that this isle is only twenty five

<sup>20</sup> Pinkney, *Life*, 277-287.

<sup>21</sup> Commodore Isaac Chauncey (1772-1840), of Connecticut. In 1815 he took command of the *Washington* and with this vessel as his flagship he commanded the Mediterranean Squadron 1816-1818. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 40.

leagues from Malta, and that the English will not probably choose to have the Americans, as neighbours, in the Mediterranean.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, it was rumored that the imperial courts had signified their intention to support Naples in its refusal to pay the claims and that Mr. Pinkney had been instructed not to push the claims to any definite issue. After waiting more than a month, without receiving any reply, Mr. Pinkney, on September 30,<sup>23</sup> wrote a private note to the Marquis di Cirello pressing for an answer to his memorial, on the ground that he was obliged to proceed to Russia, and reminded him that the season was advancing. In consequence, Mr. Pinkney obtained another interview with the Marquis, during the course of which he was informed that an immediate answer was really impossible, because it was necessary to collect the papers relative to the confiscations and ascertain the amount of the claims; and that this was obviously not a matter of a few weeks. Mr. Pinkney then told him that he should be obliged to leave Naples without the answer, as he was determined to set out for Russia within a week. However, on the evening of that same day, Mr. Pinkney received a note from the Marquis, antedated by two days, which was in the form of a reply to Mr. Pinkney's private letter of September 30. In this note, the Neapolitan studiously avoided any reference to their last interview but renewed the hint, "that he will make it his duty to forward his official reply where Mr. Pinkney may indicate."<sup>24</sup>

In his despatch, dated October 5, 1816,<sup>25</sup> to Secretary Monroe informing him of the course of the negotiations, Mr. Pinkney wrote:

Avoiding extremes of every kind, I have sought to write and speak with politeness but, at the same time, explicitly and firmly. My object has been to let the King and his ministers understand that the claim *must* be settled, and to place it upon such a ground as to convince them that we are in earnest in considering them as our debtors. Without being studiously conciliatory, I have forbore all menace . . . I might have contrived to display a more active and zealous importunity than my letters will be

<sup>22</sup> Commenting on this paragraph, an anonymous writer in the *North American Review*, XXI, (Oct. 1825), 277, felt that since it seemed probable that the United States would not get anything else from Naples, but that it might receive the island of Lampedosa, the subject was worthy of consideration.

<sup>23</sup> MS, National Archives. For full text, see *Message*, 22-23.

<sup>24</sup> *North American Review*, XXI, 274.

<sup>25</sup> Pinkney, *Life*, 152-154. MS, National Archives. See below for full text of this despatch.

found to describe; but it could only have been that teasing importunity which, wanting dignity and unauthorized by usage, has nothing to recommend its introduction into transactions like this. No proper opportunity has, I think, been missed to urge this government to a favorable decision. . . . The reasons suggested by this Government for a short postponement of its decision are such as I suppose I could not have quarrelled with, without putting myself in the wrong.—They are perfectly respectful to the United States, and of real weight in themselves. . . .

Mr. Pinkney's instructions did not allow him to wait indefinitely for an answer to his note. When it became obvious that no immediate reply could be expected, on October 1, 1816, Mr. Pinkney addressed a note to the Marquis di Circello requesting the usual passports and stating that he wished to "set out at the end of this week."<sup>26</sup> In fact, on October 3, Mr. Pinkney had his audience of leave and a few days later, departed for St. Petersburg, passing through Rome, Vienna, and Poland.

Before his departure, Mr. Pinkney, on October 7, 1816, addressed a letter to Mr. Monroe<sup>27</sup> in which he complained that his health had suffered in Naples.

The climate looks well enough [he wrote] (not better, however, than our own,) but it relaxes and enfeebles much more than ours. The so-much vaunted sky of Italy appears to me (thus far) to be infinitely inferior to that of Maryland. Everything here has been overrated by travellers, except the Bay of Naples, and the number and clamorous importunity of the common beggars, and the meanness of the beggars of a higher order, which it is absolutely impossible to overrate. After all, our country gains upon our affection in proportion as we have opportunities of comparing it with others.<sup>28</sup>

Mr. Pinkney had scarcely left Naples, when the Neapolitan Minister sent his official reply to the American's note of August 24. The Marquis di Circello's reply, dated October 15, only a few days after Mr. Pinkney had set out for St. Petersburg, was sent to the Duke of Serra Capriola, Neapolitan Minister at the Russian capital, who was instructed to deliver it to Mr. Pinkney. It is significant to note that the difficulties which, while Mr. Pinkney was present, threatened to retard that reply for many weeks and even months, quickly disappeared after his departure. In fact

<sup>26</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 167. MS, National Archives. The full text of this note was published in *Message*, 24.

<sup>27</sup> See below for full text of this despatch.

<sup>28</sup> Wheaton, *Some Account*, 154. MS, National Archives.

the reply passed Mr. Pinkney on his way to the Russian capital and arrived there long before him. Immediately upon his arrival at St. Petersburg, the Duke of Serra Capriola manifested a very anxious desire that Mr. Pinkney should receive it. In the words of Mr. Pinkney: "He even entreated me to do so, with such earnestness, as it was not easy to resist. I refused, however, to have anything to do with his packet, &c." But the Duke of Serra Capriola finally prevailed upon the American to receive the packet, for the purpose of transmitting it to Washington. This Mr. Pinkney agreed to do because he had "no difficulty in consenting to forward to the Secretary of State of the United States anything, which by order of your Court, you may think fit to address to him."

Meanwhile, a copy of the Marquis di Circello's reply to Mr. Pinkney was also forwarded to the Count of Castelcicala, Neapolitan Minister at Paris, with instructions to communicate it to Mr. Albert Gallatin, the United States Minister to France.<sup>29</sup> In his letter to the American Government, enclosing a copy of the document, Mr. Gallatin observed, with great justice, "that it may be presumed that the Neapolitan Government delayed that note, in order to prevent the possibility of a reply; and that their intention in communicating it to me was to hasten its transmission to you."<sup>30</sup> Simultaneously, the substance of the Neapolitan's note was published in the newspapers at St. Petersburg and Vienna, in such a manner as to lead Mr. Pinkney to affirm, in his correspondence with the Secretary of State, that the Neapolitan Government, or its minister at Vienna or St. Petersburg, had dictated the publication.<sup>31</sup>

In substance, in his reply, the Neapolitan Minister rested the refusal of his Court to grant the American claims on three grounds:—first, that Murat was an usurper and that the legitimate sovereign of Naples was at war with him, and consequently not at all bound to discharge his obligations; secondly, that the confiscations were not even the acts of the government of Murat, but were forced upon him, by the direct and violent interference of Napo-

<sup>29</sup> Albert Gallatin (1761-1849). Born in Geneva, emigrated to America, became a diplomat, writer, and Secretary of the Treasury in the administrations of Jefferson and Madison.

<sup>30</sup> *North American Review*, XXI, 275-276. Extracts of Mr. Gallatin's letter to Mr. Monroe, dated Paris, Nov. 19, 1816, were published in *Message*, 29-30. An English translation of the Count of Castelcicala's note, dated Paris, Nov. 15, 1816, to Mr. Pinkney, was also published in *Message*, 30.

<sup>31</sup> *North American Review*, XXI, 278.

leon; and thirdly, that the proceeds of the sales of the confiscated property went, not to the public treasury, but to the private chest of Murat to furnish the means of his profusion and extravagance.<sup>32</sup>

The objections raised by the Neapolitan Government in its refusal to pay the claims did not satisfy the American Government and people. In fact, Mr. Pinkney's failure to obtain the indemnity caused such great disappointment in government and private circles that on January 30, 1818, the House of Representatives passed a resolution calling on the President for information on the subject. In consequence of this act, on February 28, 1818, Monroe, now Chief Executive, submitted a report from the Secretary of State, together with sundry papers relating to the claims.<sup>33</sup>

No immediate action was taken by the United States Government. However, on April 12, 1825, the Secretary of State, H. Clay, notified Mr. J. J. Appleton, of Massachusetts, who was, at the moment, Secretary to the British Legation, of his appointment as "commercial agent at Naples," and that the object was "to sound the Government of Naples as to the practicability of getting indemnity for our citizens for their numerous and large claims upon the government."<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile, an anonymous writer in the *North American Review*<sup>35</sup> severely criticized Mr. Pinkney for his failure, suggesting that he [Mr. Pinkney] was no match for the wily Neapolitans and that he lacked the shrewdness to detect the treachery and duplicity of the Court of Naples. Arguing that the American claims were neither against Murat nor Ferdinand, but against Naples and the nation, the writer attempted to prove that it was not hard for Naples to refund the property. He recalled that some of the vessels confiscated were taken into the public service and were in the service of the restored king at the time that he disclaimed all participation in the plunder. The rest, with their cargoes, he wrote, were sold and went to furnish means, with

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting in Conformity to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 30th of January last, Sundry Papers, in Relation to the Claim of the Merchants of the United States, for Their Property Seized and Confiscated under the Authority of the King of Naples. Read, and ordered to lie upon the table: March 2, 1818. House Doc. No. 130 (Washington: E. De Krafft, 1818).*

<sup>34</sup> Instructions, United States Ministers, X (July 15, 1823-Dec. 30, 1825). National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>35</sup> Vol. XXI, 269-299.

which the Neapolitan people received their favorite largess of *panem et circenses*; with which the streets and squares of Pompeii were uncovered; with which a new and spacious avenue was opened to Naples, with which an efficient police was maintained; with which bands of robbers, hitherto triumphant, were swept from the passes of Puglia and Calabria.<sup>36</sup>

It would seem that these charges against Mr. Pinkney remained unanswered until 1853, when his nephew, in his *The Life of William Pinkney*,<sup>37</sup> referring to these attacks against his relative, stated that Mr. Pinkney had been compelled to act upon the alleged reasons of the Government of Naples and upon the distinct and positive assurances of the Marquis. It would have been rude in the extreme, in the opinion of the Reverend Mr. Pinkney, to have called the candor and fair dealing of the Neapolitan Government in question upon mere suspicion. At the time that he was negotiating with the Marquis di Circello, the American minister did not know many things that came to light years later. On that basis, the writer concluded, Mr. Pinkney's failure to obtain satisfaction of the claims must be excused.

While Mr. Pinkney was still in Naples, an important incident occurred which deserves to be recorded here, because it helps to focus our attention on his character and also serves to illustrate the unusual diplomatic skill he displayed in dealing with an unpleasant international situation.

One day the Marquis di Circello informed Mr. Pinkney that a serious conflict had occurred between the crews of certain English and American vessels of war anchored in the port of Messina. The Neapolitan added that the Americans not only had used violence against the Englishmen but were also guilty of "atrocities and contemptuous conduct towards the sovereignty of the territorial authority, in defiance of the most cordial hospitality that friendship and good understanding required." The Marquis went so far as to wish that Americans avoid the ports of Sicily in the future. When he first heard of the incident, Mr. Pinkney, as he later informed Secretary Monroe,<sup>38</sup> presumed that the affair was of "no real importance," although it had moved the Neapolitans

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

<sup>37</sup> p. 155.

<sup>38</sup> Letter dated Naples, Sept. 24, 1816. MS, National Archives.

a great deal, principally because, he felt certain, the English were parties to it and England, he added, was "of great weight at this feeble court." In subsequent discussions between Mr. Pinkney and the Marquis di Circello, the American did not disguise his dissatisfaction at the intimation of the Marquis, but since the American minister did not at the time have any details of the affair he thought it best to forbear comment upon it.

However, several days later, on October 6, 1816,<sup>39</sup> in reply to a communication (with enclosures) he had received from the Marquis di Circello, Mr. Pinkney notified the Neapolitan Foreign Minister that he was referring the subject to the United States Government, "whose respect for the peace and jurisdiction of friendly sovereigns is equal to its determination to exact the respect which is due to itself." He expressed great surprise at the impunity which that acknowledged outrage, "as disrespectful to the just authority of His Sicilian Majesty as it was insulting to the American flag, appeared to have enjoyed, and at the extraordinary oblivion into which . . . it seems to have passed," adding that the established reputation of Commodore Chauncey could not lead him to believe that he [the Commodore] could ever be forgetful of what he owed to any Sovereign, in amity with his government."

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated Naples, October 8, 1816,<sup>40</sup> Mr. Pinkney, in informing Mr. Monroe of the later developments in the case, admitted that the correspondence of the Marquis had provoked him, "for it is unjust in itself and indecently parcial to the English." Referring to the concluding words of his reply to the Marquis di Circello, Mr. Pinkney stated that they appeared to him to be indispensable, for, he added, "such people ought not to be suffered to suppose that we will condescend to accept any hospitality from them if it be not such as it ought to be." Mr. Pinkney left Naples shortly after dispatching this letter to the Secretary of State and here the affair seems to have ended. Nevertheless, the manner in which Mr. Pinkney conducted himself in his conversations and correspondence with the Marquis di Circello proved his determination to defend the rights of American citizens even under the most difficult conditions.

<sup>39</sup> MS, National Archives.

<sup>40</sup> MS, National Archives.

A word about the documents published as an appendix to this article. Pinkney's note dated August 24, 1816, to the Marquis di Circello, making formal request for the American claims, and the formal reply of the Marquis di Circello, dated October 15, 1816, are too long to be included in this collection. However, the full texts of both documents may be found in the President's *Message*. Of the following seven documents bearing on Mr. Pinkney's mission to Naples four (dated August 29, September 30, October 9, November 3) have never been published heretofore, and of the other three (dated May 11, August 29, October 5) only brief extracts were published in the President's *Message*. The documents below are arranged in chronological order.

JAMES MONROE TO PINKNEY

Department of State, May 11, 1816.<sup>41</sup>

Sir

Being appointed with [sic] the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Russia, and in a similar trust, to the King of Naples, the duties of the latter mission which is special, will engage your attention, in the first instance. The Washington, a Ship of the Line, is ordered into the Chesapeake, to receive on board, and to convey you and your family to Naples. You will be furnished with the usual Commission and Letter of Credence to the King.

The principal object of your mission to Naples, is, to obtain indemnity, for the losses which our citizens sustained by the illegal seizure and confiscation of their property by the Neapolitan government. You will be furnished with such evidence in support of the claim, as is in possession of this Department, and as notice has been given to the Collectors in the principal cities of your appointment and its object, that it might be communicated to the parties interested, it is expected that you will receive much further light on the subject directly from them.

The President does not entertain a doubt of the right, of the United States, to a full indemnity for these losses. They were inflicted by the then government of the country without the slightest cause. The commerce of the United States was invited into the Neapolitan ports, by special Decrees, with the promise of protection and encouragement, on the faith of which, many ships having entered, with valuable cargoes, the whole amount was seized, by the Government itself, and converted to public use. For this very extraordinary and unlawful act, no plea has been urged, that we have heard of, except that of necessity, which is no argument against indemnity.

<sup>41</sup> Extracts from this letter were published in *Message*, 7-8. Except for minor changes in capitalization and punctuation the text of the extracts is the same as that given here.

The injury being inflicted by a government in full possession of the sovereignty of the country, exercising all its powers, recognized by the Nation, and by Foreign Powers by Treaties and other formal acts, of the highest authority, it is not perceived on what ground, an indemnity can be refused. No principle is better established, than that the nation is responsible, for the acts of its government, and that a change in the authority does not affect the obligation. In the disordered state of that country for several years past, it has been thought useless, to press this claim, but now that affairs appear to be better settled, it would be improper, longer, to delay it. The President indulges a strong hope that reparation will now be made. In the discharge of this trust, in the manner of the negotiation, and in the provision for the debt, should such be made you will manifest a spirit of conciliation towards the government of Naples. Any reasonable accommodation, as to the time and mode of payment, which may be desired, will be cheerfully allowed.

As you will be well acquainted with the nature of these claims, and the right of the United States to an indemnity; with the principles on which it is founded, and the arguments and facts which support it; it is unnecessary for me, to enter further, into the subject. The President has full confidence that nothing will be wanting on your part, to secure success to the mission. Satisfied that you will discharge its duties with equal ability and discretion it is thought improper, by too much precision, to impose any restraint on your judgment, either as to the manner, or the argument, to be used, in the negotiation.

Other objects will claim your attention in this mission. It is important to place the commerce of the two Nations, on a footing of reciprocal advantage. You are acquainted with the laws of the United States, regulating their commerce with other Powers, by which, that of Naples, enjoys the advantage, of nations, the most favored, with whom there is no Treaty. By explaining these Laws to the Government of Naples, you may be able to promote, corresponding regulations, in favor of our trade, there. It is desirable to form a Treaty of Commerce for the enlargement and protection of this trade, and altho' the nature of your mission, and the duties you will have to perform elsewhere, forbid, such a delay at Naples, as would be required, for that purpose, it may be in your power, to acquire information, as to the importance of the object, and the practicability of attaining it, which may be very useful. You will therefore make this an object of your attention, and communicate the result of your enquiries, to this Department.

The relations between the United States and the Powers bordering on the Mediterranean are becoming dayly [sic] more interesting. Our trade, with the dominions, of the Powers of Europe, in that quarter, is already important, and it is extending to those of Turkey, in Europe and Asia, and of Russia, on the Black Sea. For the protection of this trade, against the Barbary Powers, the United States have been compelled, to send a strong naval force, into the Mediterranean, which, it is probable, from present appearances, they will find it, equally necessary, to maintain there, for some time. A liberty to resort to the ports of the King of Naples, with

a security for amicable treatment, in them, is very desirable [sic]. The favorable influence which our Squadron, while in the Mediterranean, will have on the trade of the Italian States, in regard to the Barbary Powers, will be, a sufficient inducement, it is presumed, to any of them, to offer this asylum to our ships of war, with hospitality and kindness. You will endeavour to obtain the sanction, of the Neapolitan Government, to this accommodation, without, however, pledging any protection in return, on the part of our squadron, to the commerce of Naples. A letter to the Minister, with his answer to this effect, will be sufficient.

You will have a favorable opportunity at Naples to acquire much information, of the state and prospect of our commerce, with the Italian States and the Levant, and of the disposition of the several powers, including Turkey to encourage it. All the information which you can acquire on this subject will be useful.

Your mission to Naples being special, its object limited, and being likewise anticipated by the Neapolitan government, it is expected, that it may be concluded, in a few interviews. It is very important that the United States should be represented at St. Petersburg, by a Minister of the highest grade, employed by them, without any delay, which can be avoided. The President desires therefore, that you will use every effort in your power, to terminate the business with Naples, as soon as it may be possible, and that you will proceed thence, immediately afterwards, to St. Peterburg.

I have the honor to be &c.

JAMES MONROE

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PINKNEY TO JAMES MONROE

Naples. August. 29th 1816 <sup>42</sup>

Sir

The Washington cast anchor in the Bay of Naples on the 13th of last month, and was immediately ordered into Quarantine because she had touched at Gibraltar.—Although I was aware that the appearance of the Plague in Calabria and elsewhere had excited such alarm in the Mediterranean as that a public Ship, conveying one of the Princesses of the Neapolitan royal Family, had been subjected to Quarantine at Naples, and another public Ship, conveying the present Duchess of Berri from Naples to the South of France, had been subjected to Quarantine at Marseilles, I thought it advisable to make known without Delay to the Minister for foreign affairs [the Marquis di Circello] by an informal Note my public character, and at the same time to invite him to use his authority to shorten our Quarantine as far as might be found consistent with Prudence. A copy of his reply to that Communication (and to another informal Note,

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<sup>42</sup> This despatch was received by the State Department Jan. 4, 1817. Only brief extracts were published in *Message*, 8-10. There are many changes in capitalization and punctuation in the text there published.

in which I transmitted two Letters received for him by the Legation from the Neapolitan Consul at Gibraltar) is enclosed.—This reply was accompanied by some verbal explanations through a Gentleman at Naples; and the result of the whole was that, however it might be regretted by the Government, a Quarantine of thirteen or fourteen Days was indispensable.

In the Course of the 26th, our quarantine being at an End, I came on Shore.—The necessary orders were given by the proper Department for the landing, without Inspection, of the Baggage of all who were attached to the Legation; and every Disposition was shown to treat the Mission with the utmost Civility.—

On Saturday the 27th I prepared an official Note to the Marquis di Circello, announcing my Quality of Envoy Extraordinary to The King; but, as I wished that it should be delivered by the American Consul with a view to an Enquiry as to some matters of Ceremony, it did not come to the Hands of the Marquis until the Morning of Monday the 29th;—His answer, appointing Wednesday the 31<sup>st</sup> for our Interview, was sent immediately. You will find enclosed a Copy of each of these Notes.

My reception on the 31<sup>st</sup> was extremely friendly, and in the highest Degree respectful to the Government of The United States.—The regular purpose of my Visit was to show my credentials, furnish a Copy, and arrange the customary audience.—I did not therefore suppose that it presented a suitable opportunity for introducing a very detailed Explanation of the objects of my Mission; but, in Conformity with a desire expressed by the Marquis himself, I stated them to him as fully as was necessary to enable him to communicate them to the King.—With regard to my audience (for which I was not yet prepared with the Dress which Usage requires) he referred it to myself to request it by a Note whenever it should be convenient to me.

Although the Marquis di Circello was (as you know) for several years the Minister of this Court in London, he does not speak a word of English, and does not understand it when it is spoken by others.—Our conversation was therefore in French, which he speaks much better than I do.—Amidst a good deal of well managed Discourse on his part which rather related to me than to my Mission, he made several observations which had a bearing upon my principal Errand.—He spoke of the poverty of their public Treasury in Terms somewhat more strong than I expected, of the unprincipled manner in which Mons<sup>r</sup> Murat (as he styled him) appropriated to his own use whatever of value he could lay his Hands upon and, in particular, the Vessels and merchandize belonging to our Citizens, of the prodigality with which he dried up all the usual Resources of the Country and dissipated moreover all the Means which Rapacity afforded.—He drew no very precise Conclusion from those & similar remarks, although I took such notice of them as their Tendency prescribed; but upon the whole it was evident that the Claim which I was charged to make in behalf of our Merchants was not likely to be very readily admitted, and that I should only waste my Time by talking over its merits from day to day with a Minister who could of himself decide nothing, and whose Report, of my

Statements & Arguments, to those who must make or greatly \*<sup>43</sup> influence the final Decision, would not be the most advantageous Channel by which they might be communicated.—In Consequence, before the interview was closed, I determined to propose the Claim as soon as possible in an official Note, and in the meantime to forbear to urge it in conversation, with any other view than to obtain from the Marquis di Circello such intimations as might be useful to me in the preparation of my Paper.—

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of the present month, I wrote to the Marquis, as I had promised, respecting my Audience, which took place on Wednesday the 8th, at a palace of the King at Capodimonti [sic] on the Edge of Naples.—In the short speech which on this occasion I made to the King in French (for he too appears not to understand English) I confined myself to the customary general Expressions.—His reply was very courteous, and his whole Deportment and Conversation were then (and have been since) of the same complexion. After my audience I presented Mr. King, the Secretary of Legation, together with my Son Charles, and the three other American Gentlemen who are with me; and they were received with great politeness.

On Sunday the 11<sup>th</sup>, I had another Interview with the Marquis di Circello, to which Mr. King accompanied me.—The main Object of it was to ascertain, according to my Instructions, the Inclinations of this Government as to commercial arrangements.—In reply to the suggestions, by which I thought it proper to lead to a Conversation on that Subject, the Marquis observed that he could not at that moment say anything definite upon it; that if I would mention to him specifically, then or at some future Interview, my own Ideas of the Nature & Conditions of such a Treaty as the Government of the United States would probably desire, he would willingly receive the Statement as informal and consult the King upon it; that he ought however in Candour to inform me that in the present unsettled Situation of Europe he did not believe it would be agreeable to the King to conclude a commercial Convention with any Power; that he

\* The Minister of Finance (The Chevalier di Medici) is understood to be the ablest man in the Government.

<sup>43</sup> Luigi de' Medici, Prince of Ottaviano and Duke of Sarno (1759-1830). Chevalier and statesman. Involved in the Jacobin plots, he was arrested on Feb. 27, 1795. He was President of the Royal Finances (July 1803). He was also Director of the State Secretarship (April 1804). In 1806 he followed the Bourbons in Sicily. He got into difficulties with the Sicilian Parliament as a result of which William Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839), the English agent in Sicily, who had instituted a liberal government, forced the King to exile him. In 1814 he participated in the Congress of Vienna. After the restoration of the Bourbon King, de' Medici became minister of finance, and after Aug. 16, 1823, he was *interim* president of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs. In 1827, he succeeded in forcing the Austrians to leave the Kingdom, but he was disgusted with Metternich and to prove that he was powerful, he used severe measures to quell the uprising in Cilento in 1828. See: Luigi Blanch, "Luigi de' Medici come uomo di stato e amministratore," in *Archivio Storico Napoletano* (Naples, 1925), 101-197; A. Simoni, *Le origini del risorgimento politico dell'Italia meridionale* (Messina, Principato, 1921), I, 414 ff; II, 188 ff; Piero Pieri, *Il regno di Napoli dal 1799 al 1806* (Naples, 1928).

thought it not improbable that hereafter and by Degrees, they might be so circumstanced as to find it practicable to make such a Convention with the United States; and that at any rate it would give him pleasure to receive from me any thing which looked to that Event.—I closed the Conversation on this Head by telling the Marquis [sic] that I should perhaps take another opportunity for further Explanation with regard to it.

I then adverted to the "principal object of my Mission," and intimated that I should very soon send him a Note upon it.—To my Surprise he professed not to understand to what I alluded as the *principal object of my Mission*; but, when I mentioned the Spoliations by Murat, he seemed suddenly to remember that I had at least talked to him of them before, and immediately, without giving me Time to proceed, remarked that he would relate to me frankly all that the present Government had been able to discover respecting them.—He said that Murat's conduct in that affair appeared to be so bad that nothing could be worse and that it amounted to a downright Robbery; that it appeared that the proceeds of the Sales had been ordered by Murat into the public Treasury, but that in a few months he took them out again, and they knew not what he had done with them.—To all this I thought it sufficient to answer that, whatever might have become of these proceeds, I hoped the King would cause our merchants to be indemnified for the Loss of them; but that I had no Desire at this interview to do more than inform the Marquis di Circello that I believed it would be as well to present the whole of that Subject to him without Delay in a note to which I flattered myself I should have such a Reply in writing as would be satisfactory to my Government.—Without either admitting or denying the responsibility of his Government, he said that such a Course would be acceptable to him and proper in itself, and that his answer should not be unnecessarily postponed.—His manner, while this Topick [sic] was under Notice, was kind and even good humoured, although he could not and perhaps did not wish to disguise that it was by no means a pleasant one.—

Before I left him I mentioned to him (informally) a wish, which had been suggested to me by Commodore Chauncey, that, if he should think fit to frequent a Port in Sicily with our Squadron, this Government would allow him to have a Depot there for its Use, as had formerly been done.—The Marquis replied that certainly the Squadron would have a perfectly hospitable reception in all the Ports of His Majesty, but that he doubted about the Depot. His Impression was that it had never been granted to any Nation, but he would enquire & let me know. He has since written to me to say Indisposition has prevented him from attending fully to this Matter, and that the Moment he is able he will take the King's orders upon it,\* and apprise me of them.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> Instant, yesterday morning, I sent in my Note upon Murat's Confiscations. The necessity of making some previous Enquiries here, upon matters connected with them, had a little retarded the Completion of the Note; and, after it was ready, I concluded that I should lose nothing

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\* I had reminded him of it by a private Note.

by withholding it for a few Days, especially as the Marquis di Circello was incapable of attending to Business and had so informed me.

What will be the answer to the Note it is impossible to conjecture with any thing like Certainty.—It may be such as to make it necessary for me to reply to it; but the President may be assured that my further Stay in Naples shall be as short as I can make it.

I have the Honour to be—with the highest Consideration—Sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

WM. PINKNEY<sup>44</sup>

PINKNEY TO JAMES MONROE

*Private*

Naples 29th August 1816<sup>45</sup>

My dear Sir

It is supposed here to be improbable that this Government will at present yield to our Demand about Murat's Spoliations; but it is impossible to ascertain with certainty upon what Grounds it will decline to pay. Those who undertake to conjecture differ among themselves. Extreme poverty will doubtless be one Ground, although not mentioned. The manner in which Murat applied the proceeds will I presume be another; and it is said that his dependent Situation with regard to France, and the fact (or rather as allegation) that he confiscated under the orders of Bonaparte, as that Bonaparte shared the Spoil, will be another. We shall see.—I am informed that the proceeds, as they came to the Hands of the Government, did not much exceed a Million of Dollars.—The *vessels* sold for very little and, although the Merchandise sold well, the fiscal System of the Country was then (as it is now) so corrupt in all its Branches that the Mass of the proceeds stopped *in transitu* and only an inconsiderable part got into the Treasury.—

You will perceive that my Note to the Marquis di Circello states that some of the Vessels are now in the possession and service of this Government. I think there are three. What they will do with *them* I know not; but it is imagined that they will offer to restore them or to make Compensation to the Extent of their Value which is considerable.—My note says very little about those Vessels for obvious reasons.

Although my mission produced as I am told *some* sensation here (and the Commodore's making the Bay of Naples a rendezvous for the Squadron preparatory to his going to Sicily, perhaps produced more.

I have been received with great Kindness and Distinction.<sup>46</sup> The

<sup>44</sup> At the bottom of the page the following date is given: Aug<sup>t</sup> 24-16, which is different from the date that appears on the heading of the despatch.

<sup>45</sup> This despatch is not included among the documents published in *Message*. It was received by the State Department on Jan. 4, 1817.

<sup>46</sup> Records in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., indicate that during this period Mr. Pinkney attended several important social functions. On Aug. 25, 1816,

Commodore & the officers of the Squadron have also been received but those were no such Sensation.—I presented Commodore Chauncey and Commodore Perry<sup>47</sup> to the King, and they were as the Phrase is "graciously received."—The Captains would all have been presented if they had thought fit.—Mrs. Pinkney has been presented to the King—and we have had as much attention as it is possible to show us by Invitations to Balls galas &c.—Three Days ago Mrs. Pinkney & Myself had a formal audience of the Duke and Duchess del Genovese.—She is the King's Daughter & he is the Brother of the King of Sardinia. They were very courteous.—

You will discover that my note to the Marquis di Circello of the 24th Instant is in some Degree drawn up with reference to the sensation above mentioned—that is to say with great Care to avoid every thing like menace.—The subject of that Note is the most delicate & difficult that can be imagined. I found it quite a Task to write upon it in such a manner as to satisfy myself that I had gone far enough without going too far.—I hope that it will appear to the President to be a discreet Paper, and yet a firm and direct Exposition of our Case.—I have endeavoured to exhibit the Claim with all possible Strength, while I shunned whatever might produce Irritation or Ill Will.—I could only have made more of the Argument by making the Note ungracefully long.—A laborious view of the Subject would have been unsuited to a Note which merely introduced the Claim.—I think it a good Claim—and that it must finally succeed if it should even fail now. At any rate—our Citizens, who have been plundered, will be convinced by what is now doing that their Interests have not been neglected.—

As to the Commercial Subject, there is no Disposition here to make any arrangement with us.—The actual State of Things is too advantageous for them, and they have nothing to gain (according to their policy) by a Change. I will explain this hereafter.

We understand here that L<sup>d</sup> Exmouth<sup>48</sup> is expected in the Mediterranean

Mr. and Mrs. Pinkney attended a royal ball held at His Majesty's Casino at Chiaramone. The following day, Aug. 26, 1816, the minister plenipotentiary of Sardinia informed Mr. and Mrs. Pinkney that the Duke and Duchess of the Genovese would receive them on Aug. 27th, at 11 a.m.

<sup>47</sup> Captain Oliver H. Perry (1785-1819). Born in Rhode Island. In 1816-1817, as Commander of the *Java*, Perry cruised the Mediterranean. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 490.

<sup>48</sup> Edward Pellow first Viscount Exmouth (1757-1833). English Admiral. Early in 1816 he was ordered to visit the several North African powers to obtain the release of all British subjects. This was readily granted by Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. However, the dey of Algiers refused a request to abolish Christian slavery. Exmouth was then ordered to attack the Algerines. The fire continued for eight hours, and the batteries and a great part of the town was silenced. The next day Exmouth received a message granting all his demands, and this was finally confirmed on Aug. 29th. Some 3,000 slaves mostly Italians and Spaniards, were liberated and sent to their respective countries. Thereupon Exmouth returned home. See Edward Osler, *Life of 1st Viscount Exmouth* (1835); *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV (1921), 711-715.

to act at Algiers. There are not wanting persons who believe that our naval operations in these Seas are to be watched by His Lordship.—I suppose that to be idle speculation.—

My Mission has thus far been pleasant but it will be a severe Expence to me. The funds allowed will not be sufficient to take me to St. Petersburgh; and when I get there the actual Salary will fall short of the Expence of the plainest Living, as I have been informed by persons at Naples who have lived long in St. Petersburgh.<sup>49</sup>

I have the Honor to be my dear Sir

Your sincere Friend & obedient Servant

WM. PINKNEY

P. S. I believe the Depot in Sicily will not be granted—but that it will be kindly refused.

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PINKNEY TO ROBERT OLIVER, OF BALTIMORE<sup>50</sup>

Naples. 7, September 1816

My dear Sir

I find that it will be necessary for me to avail myself, here and at St. Petersburgh, of a part of my pecuniary means in America. I understand that the best mode will probably be to draw on you; and I suppose that through Mr. Falconet I shall have recourse to that mode before I leave Naples, which I expect to do in a few Days, although my mission to this Government is not yet brought to a Close. The sum will not exceed \$6000.

We have just heard of Ld. Exmouth's Success at Algiers. The news is certainly good in many respects; but it is not calculated to promote my purpose here.

I am happy to have it in my power to speak very advantageously of your Son. And, as to Mr. D'arcey, I feel very much indebted to you for being instrumental in making him of our party. He is one of the most estimable men I have ever known.

Will you have the goodness to assist William in sending my coach (if not sold) from Baltimore to St. Peterburgh in the Spring. Perhaps it wd. be well to add the Chisa [chaise?]. The promised wine of course will not be forgotten.

Your sincere Friend

WM. PINKNEY

Robt. Oliver Esq.

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<sup>49</sup> Theodore Lyman in his *Diplomacy of the United States* (Boston, 1826), p. 381, table 2, records from official documents that for his mission to the Two Sicilies Pinkney received \$9,000 for his "outfit" and \$1,995.23 for "contingent expenses," a total of \$10,995.23. This, of course, was in addition to other sums paid to him for services rendered in connection with his mission to Great Britain (1806-11) and Russia (1816-1818).

<sup>50</sup> From the Oliver Collection, Maryland Historical Society. This letter was called

## PINKNEY TO THE MARQUIS DI CIRCELLO

Naples. Sept<sup>r</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup> 1816 <sup>51</sup>

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary of the United States of America, had the honour to receive last night the note of His Excellency the Marquis di Circello, bearing date of the 27th Instant, upon the Subject of the Note of the Undersigned of the 24th of August.—

The undersigned certainly regrets that the Government of His Sicilian Majesty has not been able already to honour him with a precise reply to that Note; and he regrets still more that, on account of the difficulty of collecting the Information supposed to be necessary to a correct Decision upon the claim which it preferred, he cannot hope to have such a reply during the Time to which he is obliged to limit his present Stay in Naples.

He is perfectly sure, however, that the Epoch is at Hand when His Majesty's Government will be possessed of this Information, and when the Justice of the Claim of the Government of the United States in behalf of its injured Citizens will be fully perceived and distinctly acknowledged.

The Undersigned, in answer to that part of the Note of The Marquis di Circello which proposes to send a Reply, to the Note of the Undersigned of the 24<sup>th</sup> of August, wheresoever the Undersigned may indicate, has the honour to state to the Marquis di Circello that, upon this point, as well as upon all such ulterior Steps as his mission and the Subject of it may be calculated to produce, the Undersigned will think it his Duty to refer himself to his Government, which at the same time that it will give their due weight to the reasons which are now assigned for a short postponement of the Claim in question, will take such measures as it shall think the Case requires with regard to the future.

The Undersigned takes this occasion to renew to H. E. the Marquis di Circello the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

WM. PINKNEY

## PINKNEY TO JAMES MONROE

Naples, Saturday. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup> 1816 <sup>52</sup>

Sir:

On Sunday the 29<sup>th</sup>. of last month I had an Interview with the Marquis di Circello, in pursuance of the Intention announced in my last.—I pressed him for his promised answer to the note of the 24th of August, and insisted that if he could not reply to it immediately he would name the Time within which it was probable he could do so.—He said that an immediate answer was really impossible, and that he could not, without

to the writer's attention through the kindness of Mrs. Laurence Hall Fowler, donor of the Oliver Collection.

<sup>51</sup> Not included among the documents published in *Message*.<sup>52</sup> Extracts from this despatch were published in *Message*, 18-22.

running the risk of misleading me, fix the precise Time for the giving of such an answer as sh<sup>d</sup>. be categorical.—I asked the reason for this. He observed that the papers relative to the Vessels & Cargoes for which we now demanded an Equivalent had in Murat's time been scattered about in such a way that with all the Diligence they could use, they had not yet been able to collect them or such Information that might stand in their place; that all proper Steps had been taken by the King's Government for obtaining these papers and whatever else was connected with and material to our Claim, and that they hoped that they would soon be successful; that our Claim, apparently of large amount, was made upon those who confessedly had no participation in the transaction upon which it was founded; that it was therefore manifest they had all their Knowledge of those transactions to gain; that they were sincerely desirous of understanding them thoroughly; that, without all the knowledge of the Circumstances of the case which could at this Time and by due inquiry be recovered, the King could not decide whether he was or was not answerable to us as we alledged; that a Decision would undoubtedly be hastened and made known to me as soon as possible and as he believed within a period of time not any means distant; but that I must perceive it was not in his power, without practising Disingenuousness, to assure me that this could be done in a few weeks.—In some further Conversation on this point I told him that I feared I should be obliged to leave Naples before his answer was prepared; and as he knew that my ulterior [sic] Destination was St. Petersburgh, I informed him finally that I had determined to set out for Russia on Saturday the 5<sup>th</sup>. instant, (this day) unless by waiting a week or two more I could be sure of adjusting the Business of my mission.—He replied with his characteristical good-breeding that they should be extremely sorry to lose me, and that they hoped to have me with them for some time but that, if my Duty elsewhere called me away he would undertake to send the Answer to my note the moment it could be given, wherever I would indicate; that there was no probability that if I left Naples as soon as I spoke of, or even a week or two later, I should receive the answer here, but that if it *could* be given so promptly it *should*.—I rejoined that I doubted if without Instructions it would be well for me to receive the answer, after I had left the King's Court & Territories; that I confidently trusted the answer would admit our Claim (although we had no desire to urge them inconveniently [sic] as to Time or mode of payment or even to push the demand to its utmost Extent) but that, however little such a Result was to be expected, the answer might contest our Demand, or an important portion of it, in which case it was both my Duty & my Inclination to reply to the answer, and to maintain, as I did not fear to be able to do, the Grounds of fact and Law upon which I had already relied; and that this could not be done with advantage, nor perhaps with propriety, unless with the approbation of my Government, after my Departure for another Station.—The Marquis immediately expressed an opinion that I might regularly receive the answer after I had left the Neapolitan Dominions; and, in consequence of a

question which I put to him in this Stage of the Conversation (whether it might not be more in Rule to offer to deliver the answer to whom and where the *Government of the United States* should think fit) he said that he should have no objection to any course which I preferred, but that he thought it would be best (*as being more respectful to me*) that he should undertake to send the answer as I should prescribe, especially as this Course essentially included the other. It would have been impossible for me to dispute an opinion referred to so civil a nature [sic] even if the matter had been worth disputing.—I do not think, however, that it was worth more words than had been bestowed upon it and I therefore left the Marquis to take his own way upon it, reserving to myself the Power of taking mine in due Season.

In the whole of this Conversation of which I have very shortly stated the Import not a Word was dropped by the Marquis condemning our Claim or intimating that it was likely to be rejected, although much that I said was calculated to provoke him to do so.—But again, he said nothing which amounted to an admission that the Claim would be acknowledged.

Before I went away I requested (and he promised) that he would write me a Note, expressing briefly what had passed between us; and in the Evening of the same day I received from him a Paper of which a Copy is among the Enclosures written and sent in consequence of that Request; but upon examining the papers I found that it referred to my unofficial letter mentioned in my last and not to our Interview, and moreover that it was dated the 27<sup>th</sup>. of September (perhaps a mistake for the 29<sup>th</sup>, or possibly my mistake of his figures) which was antecedent to the Interview. I took for granted, however, that the Marquis had understood me to wish that this mode should be adopted; and, as it was of no Importance, I did not put him, as at first I thought of doing, to the trouble of changing it.—I therefore founded upon it the three Notes (bearing Date, two of them, the 30<sup>th</sup>. of September, and the other 1<sup>st</sup>. of October) of which copies are enclosed.

On the 2<sup>d</sup>. Instant I received the Marquis's answer to my note of the 30<sup>th</sup>. of September which desired an audience of the King, and I took leave accordingly on Friday the 4<sup>th</sup>. Instant, one of the Days referred by the Marquis's Note to my Choice, as you will perceive by the Copy of it herewith transmitted. The King was polite and kind and conversed for some time with me on this occasion; but nothing was said by him which had any relation to the objects of my Mission.

Having received my Passports, my intention is to commence my Journey for S. Petersburg in a very few days. Mr. King left me for Russia about a fortnight ago, as my letters of the 18<sup>th</sup>. of September informed you he would and the Gentlemen attached to my Legation have gone before me to Rome where I hope to arrive on Thursday or Friday next.

I beg your attention, now, to a few words upon the Course which I have pursued as Envoy Extraordinary to Naples, and upon the actual position & prospects of the Claim which produced it.

My Stay here has perhaps been a little longer that was anticipated when I sailed from America; but upon a careful examination of my Instructions

appeared to me that I was directed by them to make the attempt to obtain an acknowledgement of our Claim upon this government as full & complete without sacrificing to it the Interests of my Mission to Russia.—I have done this. As the Claim was of great Magnitude in a pecuniary sense, involved important principles, and turned upon facts into which those with whom I had to deal had a Right to enquire, I could scarcely hope to bring it to an Issue of any kind within less than the two months which have elapsed since my first Reception.—With regard to my Mission to Russia I have yet made no Sacrifice. Independently of the explanations which I have had from Time to Time with Count Mocenigo<sup>53</sup> (the Russian minister here) with regard to my own anxiety (conforming with the orders of my Government) to be in S. Petersburg without delay, those who have Experiences of the Road assure me that, if I had started sooner I would have been obliged to wait upon the Route for the setting in of the Frost, and that I should therefore have gained nothing.—

On the other hand, certainly, I could have no apology for protracting my Stay in Naples beyond the Time to which I have limited it.—My instructions, which are precisely what they ought to be, would not justify it.—By remaining here a few weeks more I should postpone for several months perhaps my arrival in S. Petersburg by losing the best Season for quitting Italy.—

Of the manner in which my negotiation has been conducted I have little to say. Avoiding Extremes of every kind I have sought to write & speak with politeness, but at the same time explicitly & firmly. My object has been to let the King & his Ministers understand that the Claim *must* be settled, and to place it upon such ground as to convince them that we are in earnest in considering them as our Debtors.—Without being studiously consiliatory [sic] I have forborne all Menace. They have indeed treated me & my errand with so much Respect that it would have been difficult for me, even if it had been wise and honorable, to endeavor to force the Claim upon them by arrogance and Harshness.—

I might indeed have contrived to display a more active & zealous Opportunity than my Letters will be found to describe; but it could only have been that teasing Opportunity which, wanting Dignity and unauthorized by usage, has nothing to recommend its Introduction into transactions like this. No proper opportunity has, I think, been missed to urge this government to a favorable Decision.

As to the footing upon which the Claim now stands and the Value of its future prospects, it is obvious that much has been gained.—It has been presented (whether well or ill I dare not judge). It has been received in a becoming manner and entertained for Deliberation and Enquiry. The Way to adjustment [sic] has been prepared & smoothed. The great Principle on which the demand was rested by the Government of the United States is impliedly conceded, and at any rate has been greatly strengthened, by the forbearance of this Government, not only *in Linine*

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<sup>53</sup> Giorgio Mocenigo, Count (1762-1839). Born in Zante. From 1790 to 1827 he was a Russian diplomat.

but even to the last moment of my mission, to deny it, with opportunity and every inducement to do so constantly presented to it.—It was to have been expected, and *was* expected, that the Court of Naples would resist at the Threshold a demand which, directly as well as implicitly asserted its responsibility for the violences and frauds of Murat.—It was its true Policy to repel such a demand at once (without reference to Details) if it meant to contest at all the responsibility, upon which the Claimant altogether depended, and which formed in Truth the only dubious part of their Case. It was prepared to take that Course (as I was *well assured*) upon my first arrival. Yet it has not ventured to take it.—On the contrary, it has avowedly busied itself, since the presentation of my Note of the 24th of August, in Efforts (which cannot be successful) to lay a foundation of *fact* for Distinctions that may give it a chance of escaping from our principle, which finally it declines to question.—

The Reasons suggested by this Government for a short postponement of its Decision are such as I suppose I could not have quarrelled with, without putting myself in the wrong.—They are perfectly respectful to the United States and of real weight in themselves.—Their Effort is to leave negotiation open, to give Encouragement to resume it, and, at the same time that they impart new solidity to our Claim to render as acquiescence on our part in a brief ajournment [sic] of it, not only consistent with our Honour, but a Duty. In the meantime the two Governments are not brought to a disagreeable Issue as (if the Claim had been rejected without ceremony, or even with all the ostentation of civility) they might have been.

There is another light in which the matter may be considered. This government is the most corrupt in the world. An agent employed by the American claimants would now with reference to that consideration, have ground to stand upon. The claim has many a lodgement [sic] and has become respectable, and manageable and is in a state to receive that sort of aid.<sup>54</sup>

With all this to be sure the Government of the United States or its Minister has and can have nothing to do; but the claimants may be inclined to lay some stress upon it, and they are at liberty to manage their own affairs as they may; taking care only not to connect their Government.—

In not consenting to receive the answer of this Government after my Departure from Naples I was a good deal influenced by the apprehension that they might possibly give me such an Answer when absent as they would not give me if present.—I desired, moreover, to insure to my Government a just control over the subject, and to the Claimants a clear stage for their own private Exertions. I thought that a more convenient resting point could scarcely be had, and that it would be better that I should afford time to advise upon the Case to those who had more Right than I had to dispose of it in future than that adhering to my Mission after I had separated myself from those to whom I was accredited, I should

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<sup>54</sup> In the original the entire paragraph beginning with "There is another light . . ." is also given in code which must have been so transmitted by Mr. Pinkney.

risk the loss of everything by the Exercise of a very doubtful Authority under all sorts of Disadvantages.—

I have not Time to add to this Letter some miscellaneous Remarks & Information which occur to me, and a part of which would require to be in Cypher. From Florence perhaps I shall be able to write again by such an opportunity as may enable me to dispense with the Caution that it is necessary to observe.—

I ought to add however, that upon the Commercial Subject I did not renew my conversation with the Marquis di Circello, because it was evidently not worth while—of that more hereafter.

I have the Honour to be with sincere Respect and consideration your faithful & obedient servant

WM. PINKNEY

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PINKNEY TO JAMES MONROE

Naples. 9<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1816.

Sir:

I believe I have omitted to mention that my letter to Commodore Chauncey (of which I enclosed you a copy in my Dispatch of the 24<sup>th</sup>. of last month) was sent to Messina, and that (the Squadron having sailed before it arrived there) it has come back to me.—In lieu of it I have enclosed to the Commodore a copy of the Marquis di Circello's communication to me of the 4<sup>th</sup> Instant, and of my answer of the 6<sup>th</sup>. I did not think it necessary, and indeed have not had time, to send him copies of the Documents transmitted in the Marquis's communication.—

Everything being now prepared for my Departure, I intend to begin my Journey tomorrow morning.<sup>55</sup>—In passing through Rome, Florence, Vienna, & Berlin it will probably be decorous in me to seek to be presented to the Pope, the Grand Duke, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia.<sup>56</sup> I shall carry hence the most advantageous Letters of Introduction to all these places.

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<sup>55</sup> When it became certain that Mr. Pinkney had failed to obtain the indemnity, the English who had evinced much apprehension felt greatly relieved. *Niles, Weekly Register* (XII, 138) declared as follows: "It is not true, and we are most happy it is not true that the Island of Lampedosa has been ceded to the Americans towards whom the government has behaved with great spirit. The former have in fact gained nothing from their mission to Naples. The Americans are certainly a rising people, but it is rather premature, we think, for them to begin the reaction of colonizing Europe." A Neapolitan newspaper, obviously writing under government dictation, was quoted as follows in *Register* (II, 307): "Mr. Pinkney has left. There is every reason to believe that all differences between the United States and our country are terminated. Our honor has received no stain, and it could receive none under a prince who is fully conscious of the dignity of his crown and the rank which his dynasty holds in Europe. Austria has shown upon the occasion that she was ready to support our just pretensions. (Perrotta, *op. cit.*, 37-38).

<sup>56</sup> The Pope was Pius VII, Barnaba Luigi Count Chiaramonti (1742-1823). He had been elected Pope in 1800; went into exile during the Napoleonic invasions

The Passports which I have found it is Rule to take from here are those of the Marquis di Circello, the Minister of Russia & the Minister of Austria.—They all describe me as the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. Petersburg.—The little misunderstanding about Kosloff's affair<sup>57</sup> does not appear to be known here, even to the Russian minister.

I have spoken in some of my letters to you of the Gentlemen *attached to my Legation*.—To prevent any misapprehension on that subject I ought perhaps to state that I have attached my son Charles<sup>58</sup> and three other Americans (who accompanied me in the Washington) to my Legation and have permitted them to wear the diplomatic uniform as private secretaries; but neither the Government nor myself has anything to do with their Expences, except so far as *Charles* is a part of my own Family.—These Gentlemen have added much to the Appearance and Respectability of my Mission, and I have had every Reason to be perfectly satisfied with them.

I have the Honour to be

With the highest Respect and consideration

Your faithful and Obedient Servant

WM. PINKNEY

PINKNEY TO JAMES MONROE

Modena. Nov. 3 1816.

Sir:

I left Naples on the 10<sup>th</sup>. of last month, and have since got on as fast as I could to this place.—In the morning I shall resume my Journey to St. Petersburg by the way of Vienna.

At Rome I became acquainted with the Cardinal Gonsalvi<sup>59</sup> [sic] (The

of Italy; and returned to Rome in May, 1814. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was Ferdinand III of Lorraine (1769-1824). Ferdinand III had come to the throne of Tuscany in 1790, but in 1801 he was dethroned by Napoleon I. He was restored as Grand Duke in 1814. The Emperor of Austria was Francis I (whose reign extended from 1806 to 1835) and the King of Prussia was Frederick William III, who ruled 1797-1840.

<sup>57</sup> Kosloff, the Russian Consul General in Philadelphia, had been arrested and tried by a civil court on a charge of rape. The Russian Emperor took the incident as a personal insult, refusing to discuss the incident with John Levitt Harris, the United States Consul at St. Petersburg. This incident made Mr. Pinkney anxious to leave for Russia at once, since it became known that Mr. Pinkney was acceptable to the Emperor and therefore in a position to discuss the matter with him amicably.

<sup>58</sup> Charles Pinkney superseded William R. King, of Alabama, as secretary of the Legation in Russia on Nov. 30, 1818. He acted as chargé d'affaires *ad interim* from Feb. 14, to Sept. 22, 1818, and from July 5, to Nov. 9, 1820. *Register of the Department of State*, corrected to Mar. 1, 1874. (Washington: Gov't. Printing Office, 1874).

<sup>59</sup> Consalvi, Ercole (1757-1824), Cardinal Secretary of State (1800-23). Shrewd and energetic. In 1801 he concluded a Concordat with France. In 1816 he caused the approval and publication of "motu proprio organico" signalizing the triumph of ideas of tolerance. He was dismissed by Leo XII.

Secretary of State and a very able man) who showed me all sorts of Kindness, and through him I had a long and very satisfactory private audience of the Pope at the Castello Gondolfo, in the neighbourhood of Albano, a few miles from Rome.

The Pope is an extremely interesting man from every view, and loses nothing by being approached.—His manner, which is very engaging, has the recommendation of announcing the goodness of his Heart.—As he talked to me in Italian (which I understand imperfectly when it is spoken, although I read it pretty well) and I talked to him altogether in French (which he understands about as well as I do Italian) I derived less Reassurance from his conversation than in itself it was calculated to give.—It gave me great Pleasure nevertheless.—

No Person was permitted to be present at this Audience.—The "Monsignor" who conducted me into the Pope's Closet retired immediately, closing the Door, and passing through the anteroom (the door of which also he shut) into a large Hall where the Pope's attendants were in waiting and the Gentlemen who accompanied me remarked on my way to the Closet I was desired to leave my hat upon a Chair in the anteroom. As soon as I was introduced the Pope offered me his hand, which according to established usage I kissed.—Our conversation turned principally upon the political & moral State of the World, upon the climate &c of Italy, and upon Rome antient and modern.—He spoke pleasingly and well upon all these Subjects, mixing up now and then a little French, for my benefit, with Italian.—When talking of our Country he did not omit to make me perceive that he was acquainted with its worth and that he held it in the highest respect.—We were seated during the whole of our Conversation.—When I was about to retire he invited me to stay to Dinner, and upon my excusing myself he took me by the hand (after having first offered me his to kiss as upon my Entrance) and conducted me out of the Closet to the Door of the Antechamber which he opened.—The gentlemen who accompanied me were then introduced to him, in the antechamber (as is customary) after which we left him. The Monsignors (I think they are so called) of his Court were extremely civil, and urged me very strongly to dine at the Castello: but as I knew that the Pope would not be at the table (he always dines alone) I declined the Invitation, and returned to Rome.

I left Rome as soon as was in my power (having however first taken a rapid view, under the auspices of the Cardinal Secretary of State, of everything in it which is worth seeing) and arrived at Florence on the 25<sup>th</sup>. of last month.—One of my carriages had suffered in our Journey from Rome, and was found to require Alteration as well as Repair. This detained me at Florence until the 31<sup>st</sup>. when I set out for Bologna where I stayed only a single night.—

I have a letter from Mr. King (dated at Vienna October 16<sup>th</sup>.) in which he tells me that the Passport of the Russian Government and a letter from Mr. Harris, containing nothing new, wait for me at Vienna.—Mr. King went on to St. Petersburg.—It appears from the newspapers that an

American Corvette passed the 23<sup>d</sup>. of September with a messenger for St. Petersburg.—I take for granted that this is connected with Kosloff's affair, and of course that there is an End of all Difficulty on that subject.—I shall consequently pass on to my destination as rapidly as Roads, weather &c. permit. A few weeks will I trust find me there.—

I have the Honour to be

with the highest Consideration & Respect

Your most obedient Humble Servant

Wm. PINKNEY

P. S. I hope you will receive in due season my last letters from Naples intrusted to the care of our Consul there.—It is impossible to make copies of them on the Road.

W. P.

## THE CHURCH TOOK A CHANCE

By JOHN S. EZELL

She seems to give to all who ask  
Without imposing labour's task  
The idle as the busy bask  
Alike i' the sunshine of her mask.<sup>1</sup>

The gracious lady in this bit of doggerel was none other than Dame Fortune, who according to the bard, presided over the lottery wheels, awaiting only an opportunity to bestow boundless wealth on all who would step up and receive it. Very few of our ancestors showed any hesitancy in answering this siren's call; certainly Maryland was not adverse to furnishing patrons and promoters.

Throughout the colonies and in most of Europe during the eighteenth century, both church and state considered the raffle an acceptable mode of disposing of property and raising funds for worthy causes.<sup>2</sup> In America, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, to name only two, saw nothing amiss in lending the prestige of their names as sponsors, and in return were all the more esteemed as public-spirited citizens. Anyone believing that he could get popular support, or customers, was free to initiate a drawing on his own terms. Many churches, doubtless feeling that their claims for attention were as worthy as any, took advantage of the times and so realized substantial profits. Their use of the lottery makes an interesting, if somewhat unusual, bit of religious history.

The factors conducive to the instigation of such schemes and the justification for such actions are clearly indicated in the advertisement inserted in the *Maryland Gazette*, July 7, 1761, by one of the Baltimore congregations.

*Religion*, the crowning Excellence of intelligent Nature, claims the Approbation and close Attention of every respectable Being who expects

<sup>1</sup> St. Denis Le Cadet, *The Lottery, A Poem* (Baltimore, 1815), 15.

<sup>2</sup> For a general survey of early American lotteries, see J. S. Ezell, "The Lottery in Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, V (April, 1948), 185 ff.

future Bliss. We are bound from Principles of Gratitude and Interest to promote the Honour and Worship of the Supreme Mind, as necessary to our own Prosperity, the God [sic] of Society, and the future Happiness of Man. Sustained by these interesting Motives, we of the Presbyterian Persuasion in this Town desire not from Party Views, but from real Principle, to purchase a Lot of Ground to erect a decent Church for Divine Service, in which we may worship GOD according to our Consciences. Upon Enquiry we find ourselves as yet insufficient to raise such a sum as is necessary to accomplish such an important design, beg leave therefore to sollicit the Generosity of our Fellow Christians to assist and encourage us in compleating a small lottery at a time when the Benevolence of our Countrymen is so well tried in this Way. We hope our Claim to the public Attention is equal to any that has sollicited their Notice and humbly expect that we shall meet with general Encouragement.<sup>3</sup>

By this appeal they hoped to raise 300 pieces of eight. On July 15, 1762, however the directors confessed their failure and blamed the indifference of the populace on too many low prizes. Consequently, they issued a new scheme of 19,010 chances at four dollars each, 15,566 being awards.<sup>4</sup> This was apparently not the solution either, for in 1763 one of the managers requested that all the tickets signed by him be returned for a refund.<sup>5</sup> The members forgot this set-back, however, and again attempted in June, 1771, to use a lottery to build a parsonage and enlarge their meetinghouse since it was "thought the most eligible method to raise money for that purpose and a scheme . . . laid before the congregation being approved of." In spite of troubled times these billets found a ready market and the drawing was held October 15. Unfortunately it was not without incident for some of the purchasers failed to exercise the Christian virtues and a few holding blanks refused to settle their accounts.<sup>6</sup>

The outbreak of the Revolution saw a diminution of such ventures, but a few churches persisted in their use. In 1780, for example, St. Paul's Parish (Episcopal) offered 12,000 tickets at

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by William Reynolds, *A Brief History of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1913), 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), 544 fn.

<sup>5</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 5. The Presbyterians at this time were utilizing a log cabin meetinghouse on Fayette street. In 1765 they purchased a lot at the northwest corner of Fayette and North Streets (Guilford Avenue) and erected a brick structure. On the site was later built the famous "Two-Steeple Church," predecessor of the present First Church.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-13.

forty dollars each, boasting of 3,837 awards totaling \$320,000. The amounts involved clearly indicate the prevailing inflation and perhaps offer another explanation for the temporary decline in the lottery's use. Small notice was paid to the 8,163 blanks, "there being but little more than two blanks to a prize." Their advertisements opened with the reminder that "He who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord," and included the pious hope that "the good purposes expected from the sacred institution which carries to all the Divine blessing, independent of the advantageous terms offered to the adventurer, will be a sufficient inducement for a speedy sale of the tickets."<sup>7</sup>

With the restoration of peace came renewed activity in this field. Religious groups were once more in active competition with their secular brethren, and by 1789 the number of such undertakings reached a new high. A modest project to raise \$637 for a set of bells for the German Reformed Church on Howard's Hill issued the following scheme, which though small was quite typical.<sup>8</sup>

1,200 tickets at \$2 equals \$2,400		
1 Prize of \$150	150	
1	75	75
1	50	50
2	30	60
2	25	50
3	20	60
4	15	60
10	10	100
15	5	75
361	3	1083
400 Prizes		\$1763 in Prizes
800 Blanks		
1200		

"The Benefit that will result to the Town (not only for their Congregational Meetings, but also in case of Fire, etc.) from a Set of Bells on this elevated Situation, must be obvious to every one.

<sup>7</sup> *Maryland Journal*, April 29, 1780.

<sup>8</sup> *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, January 6, 1789. According to J. T. Scharf's *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 41, this church was on the west side of Charles St., north of Saratoga St.

. . . " The date and place of the contest were announced as February 2, 1789, at Mr. William Evans' Tavern.<sup>9</sup>

A more ambitious undertaking was publicized on April 17 by the High German Reformed Presbyterian Church of Jones Falls "near Philpot's Bridge." It proposed to gain \$3,686 by a series of three drawings, or classes, each consisting of 3,000 tickets. Single billets in the first sold for one dollar and those in each succeeding class cost an additional dollar.<sup>10</sup> The next month the German Lutheran Congregation of Baltimore launched a \$1,750 campaign for a parsonage.<sup>11</sup> In July the "Presbyterian Society of Baltimore-Town" announced that they depended "for a rapid Sale of Tickets . . . on the liberal Spirit which hath hitherto so eminently distinguished the different religious Denominations, in assisting each other on similar Occasions" to enable them to secure \$2,780.<sup>12</sup> The remainder of the year saw schemes for \$2,000 for an Episcopal rectory in Baltimore and £300 for a Roman Catholic edifice in Harford County.<sup>13</sup>

The relative success of all of these is questionable, for the managers of the second class of the High German Reformed and of the Presbyterian projects postponed their drawings because of competition and the "extraordinary Sickness prevailing." The former condition was emphasized by a newspaper contributor, signing himself "A Spectator," who complained that in the past twelve months a total of \$26,084.66 had been sought by different lotteries. When one remembers that to raise that amount required the sale of appropriately \$100,000 in tickets, his conclusion that all could not flourish "unless we possessed a greater surplus of circulating cash" seems logical. He estimated they had taken nearly £10,000 from Baltimore's pockets alone.<sup>14</sup>

As one would expect, these undertakings were generally confined to the more populated areas, but there is evidence that the rural sections also employed them. Neither history nor the columns of the newspapers recorded many but probably they were conceived on a small scale to meet the demands of their limited clientage; for example, the one in 1791 for the parish of North Sassafras

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, January 20, 1789.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, April 17, 1789.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, May 22, 1789.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, July 21, 1789; Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 13. This congregation later became the First Presbyterian Church.

<sup>13</sup> *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, December 8, 18, 1789.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, November 27, December 8, 1789.

Church in Cecil County sought to raise only a few hundred dollars.<sup>15</sup>

The days of unrestricted lottery activity were drawing rapidly to a close, when, in 1792, the Lutherans of Baltimore sought \$12,118 to purchase land adjoining their burying ground.<sup>16</sup> Most of the legislatures of the other states had found it expedient much earlier to intervene and regulate the conduct of such schemes, but Mary-

**Fortune Calls—Come Quickly!**



**The Fell's-Point Baptist Church Lottery**

W<sup>H</sup>.L. positively commence drawing on *Monday next*, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, at Mr. Pepp<sup>er</sup> Wyant's. The few tickets on hand, it is hoped, will be sold by that time.—*Tickets for sale by the following persons:* Hiram Cochran, at the lumber yard Charles-street; William Cuffman, at the lumber yard O'Donnell's wharf; and Wright and Price, lumber yard, Frederick street dock; Jas. Hickin, No. 62, South-street; Levering and Neiss, No. 28, Cheapside; Bowles and McEwan, No. 56, Cumberland-row; M. and J. Conrad and Co. No. 140, Market-street; Aquila Miles, corner of Bridge and High-streets, Old town; Samuel Leath, No. 42, Howard-street; and David Buck, No. 2, Philip-street, Fell's-Point.

June 8.

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From the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 9, 1803. This shows a drawing in progress. The wheel at left is labeled "Numbers," that at right "Prizes and Blanks."

land apparently was reluctant to follow their lead. Then action became imperative. As had happened elsewhere, unscrupulous promoters seized this device and perverted it to serve themselves instead of their customers. There were drawings in which inferior prizes were awarded; those where, by manipulation, the most desirable rewards remained undrawn; and occasions when the sponsor, having sold the tickets, absconded without finishing the contest. In small communities protection from fraud was afforded by the personal reputation of the promoter; with growing popu-

<sup>15</sup> George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland* (Elkton, 1881), 288.

<sup>16</sup> Scharf, *History*, p. 568 fn. They offered 4,000 tickets at two dollars each and dangled \$5,882 as prizes.

lations this assumption was no longer valid. In the fall of 1792 the Assembly recognized the danger and reserved the right to approve all sponsors, outlawing all future undertakings which did not secure its sanction.<sup>17</sup>

This was not the result of awakened moral scruples against a practice which today is considered gambling, but merely a business-like regulation to protect the unwary public. Then, too, merchants had found it hard to compete with the lottery's attractions and demanded that the number of raffles be curtailed. The new requirement answered this complaint and reduced the total in operation, but such schemes were still destined to play a major part in the state's social and fiscal life. During the next sixty-seven years their importance was amply illustrated by the authorization of some seventy-five different lotteries, exclusive of the annual ones held for the educational fund.

Benevolent organizations, churches and schools soon enjoyed a favored position in the granting of franchises. For the first ten years following the passage of this law, licenses were scarce; but at least three religious groups received favorable answers to their petitions. The first, the Vestry of Christ Church Parish of Calvert County, was empowered on December 30, 1796, to seek \$1,000 to finish their building.<sup>18</sup> Three years later the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, lying in Queen Anne's and Talbot counties, obtained permission to raise £3,000 to pay their debts.<sup>19</sup> In 1802 "Zion's Church," Baltimore, legally attempted to gain \$2,499.<sup>20</sup>

But local projects were not the only source of opportunity for speculators to test their fortunes. Groups outside of the state constantly sought a market in Maryland. In 1799 Pennsylvania had authorized the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Augustine in Philadelphia to raise \$10,000. On April 30, Father T. M. Carr wrote Bishop John Carroll:

The Lottery Bill has passed for the new church. I fear to proceed with it. I foresee the great attention and laborious exertions it requires; nor can I hope for much assistance from any of the managers. I wd be thankful to Your Lordship for informing me what prospects of disposing tickets I may look to in Baltimore. For unless we can vend a considerable portion

<sup>17</sup> William Kilty, compiler, *The Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1799-1800), II, 1792, Chapter 58.

<sup>18</sup> Kilty, *op. cit.*, II, 1796, Chapter 14.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1798, Chapter 69.

<sup>20</sup> *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, February 15, 1802.

of them in the principal cities of the Union, it were folly to embark on the business.<sup>21</sup>

The following years were more fruitful for Maryland promoters and 1803, in particular, saw lotteries sanctioned in abundance. Of the fourteen allowed for various congregations throughout the state, the first in operation was St. John's of Baltimore, which offered \$40,000 in prizes, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent, to raise \$6,000.<sup>22</sup> The project did not, however, enjoy smooth sailing as for several months the mayor (James Calhoun) refused to allow the managers to sell tickets within the city limits.<sup>23</sup> Even the removal of this obstacle left them facing sharp competition from other schemes. They began drawing on September 20, but stopped after the first hundred billets, explaining that of the 8,000 offered at five dollars each, 985 were unsold and the contest would not proceed until this number was reduced by half.<sup>24</sup>

In March lotteries were instigated for \$6,000 to finish an Episcopal church at Havre de Grace, Harford County, and for a Baptist meetinghouse on Fell's Point.<sup>25</sup> The latter boasted \$13,000 in prizes, minus the fifteen per cent, and an unusual method of selling the billets. Their nominal cost was five dollars, three to be paid at the time of purchase, the other two only if the number won an award.

One of the largest ventures up until this time was for the Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore. It offered the munificent sum of \$210,000 in prizes, subject to the customary deduction, and the list of distinguished managers was headed by the Right Reverend John

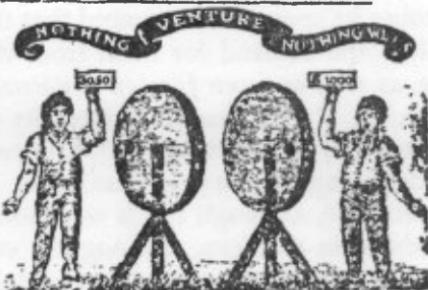
<sup>21</sup> American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, *Records*, XLIII, (Sept. 1932), 237. This is even more interesting in view of Maryland's having forbidden the sale of "foreign" tickets in 1792. This prohibition obviously was not strictly enforced as is seen in the advertisements in Baltimore newspapers. See, for example, that of Harvard College in the *Baltimore Daily Intelligencer*, October 14, 1794, and of the German Roman Catholic Holy Trinity Church of Philadelphia in the *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1803.

<sup>22</sup> *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 21, 1803. Apparently a German congregation, denomination not given.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, March 17, 1803.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, September 21, 1803.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, March 19, 21, 1803. Under the leadership of Elder John Healey, three families of "New Connexion" Baptists had come to Baltimore from England in 1795. They settled on Fell's Point and, by 1797, had built a church on the corner of Bank and Eden Street. Known as the Second Baptist Church, this edifice reputedly contained the first Sunday School in Maryland. In 1811 a new structure, probably constructed with the returns from the lottery mentioned here, was erected on Canton Avenue.



**210,000 Dollars in Prizes !!  
And only 21,000 Tickets !!  
In the Catholic Cathedral Church Lottery.**

LOTTERY TICKETS and SHARES, signed by the managers, now for sale by the following persons:

*Sower & Cole, No. 190, Market-street  
Samuel Vincent, No. 44, north Gay-street  
George Dobbin, at the Telegraphic office  
Samuel Cole, No. 28, Pitt-street, Old-town, &  
John Rice, No. 182, Baltimore-street.*

*Also,*

*Mr. John Schultz, German-street  
Mr. Peter Little, Baltimore-street  
Mr. Joseph Ecaiville, Bryden's coffee house  
Mr. James Ninde, Thomas-street, Fell's-Point, &  
Mr. Abraham Lerth, jun., Rutherford-street.*

The following explanatory Tables of the mode of adventuring in shares in the present lottery, are submitted to purchasers:

<i>Half Tickets, at 5½ Dollars, entitled to</i>		
10,000 dollars, if a prize of	20,000 dolls.	
5,000 -	-	10,000
2,500 -	-	5,000
500 -	-	1,000
250 -	-	500
100 -	-	200
50 -	-	100
25 -	-	50
12 50 -	-	25
10 -	-	20
7 50 -	-	15

<i>Quarter Tickets, at 3 Dollars, entitled to</i>		
5000 dollars, if a prize of	20,000 dolls.	
2500 -	-	10,000
1250 -	-	5000
250 -	-	1000
125 -	-	500
50 -	-	200
25 -	-	100
12 50 -	-	50
6 25 -	-	25
5 -	-	20
3 75 -	-	15

And a proportional share of such premium as may be drawn against any number, agreeably to

Carroll.<sup>26</sup> In October its sponsors announced that the tickets were going very rapidly, "the demand for them from various parts of the *United States*, as well as from *foreign countries* being of late very considerable . . .," but two years later its advertisements were still being carried by the newspapers.<sup>27</sup> Compared to this one the remaining undertakings of the year were small. Most were for groups outside Baltimore, although funds were sought for a non-denominational edifice in that city. Among the others were the Rock Presbyterians in Cecil County, those at Charleston and Ephesus; a joint Lutheran and Presbyterian congregation at Emmitsburg; the German Lutherans at Woodsbury (Woodsboro) in Frederick County; the Roman Catholics at Frederick; the Baptists at McAllister's Town in Baltimore County; and the Episcopalians of Shrewsbury church in Kent and All Hallows in Anne Arundel counties.<sup>28</sup>

As many of the religious and secular lottery schemes authorized in 1803 were still seeking markets the following year, the legislature was reluctant to authorize more. The only sect approved for a venture was the Second Presbyterian of Baltimore, which hoped for \$12,500 from the scale of eleven thousand tickets at five dollars each with 3,710 prizes as inducements.<sup>29</sup> 1806 was the next banner year, when, among others, the Roman Catholic Church of St. John at Frederick sought a total of \$24,000 to complete its building, and the Reformed Church of that town raised funds to build a steeple.<sup>30</sup> In Baltimore the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish attempted to gain \$15,000 and the German Evangelical Reformed group, (Otterbein's Church) \$12,000 to construct a parsonage, a school house, and to finish their auditorium.<sup>31</sup>

After a series of such bountiful years it is not surprising that the number of new franchises issued should again be small. This may have been because the demand was temporarily satisfied or

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1803. The managers, besides the Bishop, included the Reverend Francis Beeston, David Williamson, Robert Walsh, Charles Ghequiere, Patrick Bennet, Arnold Livers, Luke Tiernan, and Francis I. Mitchell.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, October 14, 1803.

<sup>28</sup> E. S. Riley, *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1635-1904* (Baltimore, 1905), 321; A. R. Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick, Maryland, 1738-1938* (Harrisburg, 1938), 200; Johnston, *op. cit.*, 281, 287.

<sup>29</sup> *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, May 8, 1804.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, January 2, 1806; Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200-201.

<sup>31</sup> *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 4, April 8, 1806; Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200-201.

the abundance of contests in operation gave little hope for success to new lotteries. Perhaps, too, the Assembly decided to protect those already in progress by refusing to create new rivals. Whatever the reason, the only religious scheme granted in 1807 was for Trinity Church in Baltimore. To get \$18,000 it marketed 18,000 chances at \$5 each, and dangled a first prize of \$5,000.<sup>32</sup> The next four years saw only two licenses: to the Lutherans of Frederick (1808), who raised \$1,600 to pay for an addition to their parsonage; and to the Reformed Church of Emmitsburg (1810) for funds for a new building. In 1811 the Roman Catholic Cathedral was allowed to increase its original amount.<sup>33</sup> The session of 1812 was more generous, and congregations at "Coxe's-Town" in Baltimore County, Cumberland in Allegany, and "Middle-Town" in Frederick competed with their lay brothers in attempts to gain \$1,800, \$6,000, and \$3,000, respectively.<sup>34</sup> A scheme approved in 1813 and drawn in 1814 financed a new house of worship for the Episcopalians in Frederick.<sup>35</sup>

The next meeting issued only three licenses, none denominational; but in the fall of 1815, \$5,000 was authorized to buy a lot and raise an undesignated meetinghouse, \$5,000 for St. Lucas Reformed Church, \$6,000 for St. Mark's [Episcopal] Parish, and \$1,500 to repair the Presbyterian and Lutheran edifice of Emmitsburg, all in Frederick County.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps to avoid accusations of favoritism a \$10,000 scheme was granted for construction of an Episcopal church at the "junction of the public roads near the mouth of Charles Walker's lane" in Baltimore County.<sup>37</sup>

At the same sitting of the legislature, 1816-1817, which set goals of \$100,000 for the University of Maryland, \$30,000 for Washington College, and \$50,000 annually over a five year period for the state school fund, eleven other lotteries received approval, five to benefit religious sects. These included \$10,000 to repair

<sup>32</sup> *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 25, 1807. Presumably this was Trinity Episcopal.

<sup>33</sup> Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200-201.

<sup>34</sup> State of Maryland, *Laws Made and Passed By the General Assembly in the Session of 1812-1813* (Annapolis, 1813), 67, 93, 141. The only case in which the denomination is specified in the enacting statute is the Lutherans of "Middle-Town."

<sup>35</sup> Wentz, *op. cit.*, 200. This structure is still standing and is used as the parish house of All Saints Church.

<sup>36</sup> State of Maryland, *op. cit.*, 1815-1816, 7, 25, 41-42, 168.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 192-193. This refers to St. John's in the Valley, built in 1816 on two acres donated by Charles Walker.

buildings and purchase a glebe of 200 acres for the Vestry of King and Queen Parish in St. Mary's County; \$30,000 to buy a site and erect a church and parsonage for the English Presbyterians of "Frederick-Town"; \$1,200 to finish a school house and buy a set of bells for the meetinghouse at Boonsborough [Boonsboro] in Washington County; \$5,000 for "Impartial Academy" and the "Free Church" of "Taney-Town" in Frederick County (with the unusual provision that the worship service must be in English); and \$20,000 for the Parish of Port Tobacco in Charles County.<sup>38</sup>

The passage of this group marked the last lottery franchises for religious purposes and the high water mark for other schemes. The reasons are not hard to discover. So many had been authorized that all had found difficulty in marketing their tickets, and a number had struggled for years with little success. Those for country churches, which had but few interested backers, were especially hard pressed. They could not contend in rich prizes or with the experienced management of such mammoth undertakings as, for example, those for the University of Maryland, the deepening Jones' Falls (\$100,000), Washington College (a total of \$80,000), and the project for the Washington Monument in Baltimore, which in one class alone offered prizes of \$50,000, \$30,000, \$20,000, two of \$10,000, and three of \$5,000. Even the smaller awards were greater than the grand reward of small competitors. Projects of this magnitude obviously ran hundreds of classes and were often a score or more years in process of completion.

The changing attitude of the government was an even more vital factor in the disappearance of church sponsored lotteries. The legislature had been casting envious eyes on this source of wealth and no longer displayed a liberal hand with grants. More and more the state depended on them as a means of revenue and as early as 1816 appointed commissioners to conduct a series of annual drawings for the school system. This predilection was continued until the state finally assumed proprietorship of all such projects within its limits and apportioned the returns, over and above a fixed amount for education, among the various franchise holders. On February 16, 1819, a tax of five per cent was placed on the gross of prizes offered in other schemes but most of the churches still in the business were later able to get special acts

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 1816-1817, 17-18, 27, 63, 64, 87-88.

exempting them from the payments or reducing the amount, usually to one per cent.<sup>39</sup>

By this time many of the congregations were in a better financial condition and could meet their needs unassisted. However, some still hoped to share in the easy money. In 1822 the Lutherans of Frederick felt they needed a larger building and unsuccessfully petitioned during several sessions for permission to raise \$ 30,000.<sup>40</sup> Proof that lotteries were still morally acceptable in Maryland is evidenced by the resolutions passed by this same group in 1825.

Whereas the discipline of our church enjoins the members of the Council to lead an exemplary life; and as we consider the encouraging and attendance of horse-racing, cock-fighting, unlawful gaming and public balls to be inconsistent with such conduct:

Therefore Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this Council that any member of the Council attending such places renders himself liable to expulsion.

Their next action was the adoption of a motion proposed by the pastor:

Resolved, That we highly appreciate the zealous and repeated exertions of Samuel Barnes, Esq., for his endeavors to promote the pecuniary interest of this congregation by introducing, maturing and advocating in the house of delegates at their recent session the bill introduced to grant a lottery for its benefit.<sup>41</sup>

These resolutions, approved at the same meeting, reveal the inconsistencies to which a church could be led in its definition of morality, especially when legal sanctions cloaked the method of raising much needed money.

Just as the earlier governments had found it necessary to intervene in the conduct of unregulated lotteries they now found the licensed schemes also had inherent weaknesses which even careful supervision failed to eradicate. By the 1820's it could no longer be denied that addiction to this form of speculation was producing a bad effect on the lower strata of society. Crimes were committed to obtain money for tickets and all too frequently managers took advantage of their privileged positions to enrich themselves. Even at best it was an expensive method of raising money for the most

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 1818-1819, Chapter 179.

<sup>40</sup> Wentz, *op. cit.*, 201.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 201-202.

worthy cause. Gradually public opinion began shifting against the practice and a concerted effort was made to abolish it. Sparked by the Quakers, Pennsylvania led the way in 1833, and one by one other legislatures joined the movement.

In Maryland also religious groups were among the first to have their consciences awakened and to raise their voices in protest. The Lutheran pastor of Frederick, the Reverend David F. Schaffer, showed himself of short memory or the beneficiary of rapid conversion for as early as 1826 he began striking at lotteries in a paper which he published. His article in 1829 on "Immorality in Maryland," for example, listed these drawings as an evil, and in 1830 he contributed an essay entitled "Lottery Riches have Wings."<sup>42</sup> But these early cries that the Devil's mill was being used to grind the Lord's grain were still too weak to be heard over the clink of silver. Though an amendment to the constitution forbidding such schemes was proposed in 1834, it failed to be ratified.<sup>43</sup>

Year by year the conviction that total abolition was necessary became stronger and the list of states outlawing lotteries grew. No longer could a churchman defend them with impunity. This reversal is exemplified by the First Presbyterians of Baltimore, a group who had previously profited by this device. In June, 1842, an applicant for membership felt constrained to state:

that he had been led to view the practice of dealing in lottery tickets to be not only ruinous to the temporal interests, but destructive to all spiritual growth and comfort, and that he had been betrayed into it unawares and had since determined to renounce it forever, and would not feel at liberty for any temporal gain to engage in the business again even to the smallest extent.<sup>44</sup>

It was not, however, until the adoption of the Constitution of 1851 that the fight was won in Maryland, when the right of authorization was denied the legislature.<sup>45</sup> Even this did not end lotteries immediately. Some continued operating until 1859, for to have curtailed them before they raised their allotted amounts would have been considered a breach of faith on the part of the state.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>43</sup> Riley, *op. cit.*, 339.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted by Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 6-7.

<sup>45</sup> Riley, *op. cit.*, 358.

One should be tolerant of our early church fathers for what appears to modern eyes to have been a compromise of principles and remember that today's concepts are the outgrowths of passing time. Their actions had the moral approval of their fellowmen, not only in Maryland, but throughout the country. Unquestionably, lotteries made possible the construction of many churches which otherwise would never have been built and freed others from burdensome debts which might well have choked them off in infancy. At least, they were among the first to recognize the fallaciousness of their reasoning. At worst, they and their day chose the wrong answer to the problem—"Do the ends justify the means?"

## BROOKLANDWOOD, BALTIMORE COUNTY<sup>1</sup>

By ROBERT ERSKINE LEWIS

The immediate family of Charles Carroll of Carrollton has probably contributed more to Maryland's heritage of Georgian domestic architecture than any other family in Maryland. It has given us the Carroll House in Annapolis, Doughoregan Manor and Folly Quarter in Howard County, the Carroll or Caton House at Lombard and South Front Streets, Homewood on Charles Street and Brooklandwood at the Valley Road and Falls Road. The Harper house, Oakland, that stood on the site of the Griswold house in Roland Park, unfortunately burned in 1858, but its charming dairy has been moved to the Baltimore Museum of Art as an ornament to its gardens.<sup>2</sup>

Charles Carroll was a Catholic and an aristocrat of ancient Irish and English descent. He was a patriot and a Federalist with no faith in Mr. Jefferson's democracy. He lived and entertained in great style and expected his children to do likewise. That he was also able to provide the money for their several establishments was a blessing not only to them but to us, for their houses have become important items in our architectural tradition.

The most interesting line from Charles Carroll, in its social brilliance, was that of his daughter, Mary, born in 1770. She was the eldest of his three children that survived childhood. That she was an attractive child has been recorded in the letters of the family and of their visitors. Daniel Carroll of Duddington, a distant cousin, was in love with her when he went abroad to complete his education in 1785, taking her brother Charles along. Her father evidently preferred this match to the one she made, for in March, 1787, he wrote to Daniel the sad news that Mary

<sup>1</sup> For assistance in the preparation of this article the author desires to thank Mrs. Matthew J. Looram, Mr. William B. Marye, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Mrs. William M. Dabney, Mr. Gilman Paul, and Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler.

<sup>2</sup> Account is taken here only of houses built by the Doughoregan Manor Carrolls. Their relatives of the Daniel Carroll line built fine houses at Duddington, Sweet Air and Clymalira.

had engaged herself to a "young English gentleman of the name of Caton. I do sincerely wish she had placed her affections elsewhere, but I do not think myself at liberty to control her choice, when fixed on a person of unexceptionable character, nor would you, I am sure, desire that I should. My assent to this union is obtained on these two conditions, that the young gentleman should extricate himself from some debts which he has contracted, and shall get into a business sufficient to maintain himself and a family." The letter continues with words of comfort and hopes for Daniel's consolation with a satisfactory wife.<sup>3</sup> This "young English gentleman of the name of Caton" was Richard Caton, son of Joseph Caton of Liverpool. He settled in Baltimore in 1785 and married Mary Carroll in November of 1787. In 1790 he entered a mercantile firm for the manufacture of cotton and became one of the leading citizens of the town.<sup>4</sup>

It is interesting to note that, although one of Charles Carroll's pre-marital demands was that Caton apply himself to business, and although Caton later found himself in financial difficulties, Charles Carroll nevertheless intrusted him with the management of a large part of his affairs. At the time of Charles Carroll's death his account books show that the Catons had been advanced \$468,000.<sup>5</sup> The Carroll family were a closely knit group, but the Catons and Charles Carroll of Carrollton seem to have been particularly close. They spent much time with him at his paternal mansion in Annapolis which he willed to Mary Caton at his death. They shared the Baltimore town house on Lombard Street and visited him at Doughoregan frequently. Mrs. Caton was with Mr. Carroll in New York for the meeting of Congress in 1790 where she became a favorite of society. She was admired for her beauty and amiability, being considered one of the ornaments of the Republican Court. Washington, it is said, was very fond of her.<sup>6</sup>

On Mary's marriage, her father gave her an estate not far from

<sup>3</sup> Kate Mason Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York: Putnam's, 1898), II, 104. From this book the general historical background for this article was drawn.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Many of the business accounts of Carroll are in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. This figure includes advances to the four daughters.

<sup>6</sup> [Eugene L. Didier] "The American Graces," Harper's Magazine, LXI (Sept., 1880), p. 489-495.

Doughoregan which had an old mansion on it. This estate contained the site of the present Catonsville.<sup>7</sup> In 1788, Charles Carroll bought three tracts of land at the eastern end of the Greenspring Valley which are part of the present Brooklandwood, including the site of the mansion.<sup>8</sup> In 1791 the Falls Road was extended to this property. The tax list of 1798 for Back River and Middle River Upper Hundred lists the property as Richard Caton's. In a letter to Alexander Hamilton in 1800 Charles Carroll refers to Brooklandwood, where he was staying at the time, as "the country residence of my son-in-law, Mr. Caton."<sup>9</sup> However, Carroll claimed that the legal title was his,<sup>10</sup> and not until 1822 did he deed it to trustees for Mary Caton. Another such deed was executed in 1831. It is interesting to note that at the time of his death Charles Carroll still held title to the furnishings, plate, and servants both at Brooklandwood and at the Caton town house.

The Catons had four daughters who grew up at Brooklandwood and at the Carroll residences where life was a continuous round of entertaining and visiting at other estates. Life at Brooklandwood was described in a letter written from Baltimore to England, by Richard Jackson, a nephew of Richard Caton. He speaks of twenty servants, and was very much amused the morning after his arrival to find several "darkies" in his room, putting the water in a tub, stirring up the fire, brushing his clothes and "Kicking up a devil of a row." He says, "We have four waiters at dinner which is always sumptuous; Terrapin, soup, fish, turkey, Galena fowls, omelette, ducks, corned beef, oysters stewed, carrots, turnips, potatoes, cabbage, parsnips, &c. . . . puddings, whips, sweetmeats, and thick cream. After dinner, American apples &c." "Uncle Caton's roof is certainly the roof of hospitality." "Aunt Caton and Mrs. McTavish have a sleigh of their own and drive four horses."<sup>11</sup>

That the Caton sisters were beautiful, charming and "to the

<sup>7</sup> Rowland, *Life*, II, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> Baltimore County Deeds, Liber W. G. No. CC, f. 372. John Cockey to Charles Carroll.

<sup>9</sup> Rowland, *Life*, II, 238.

<sup>10</sup> Carroll to Robert Goodloe Harper, Dec. 14, 1802, Maryland Historical Society collections.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in manuscript prepared for the late Mrs. Isaac E. Emerson, author unknown.

manner born " is attested by their brilliant marriages. The eldest, Mary, married first Robert Patterson, brother of Betsy, and after his death, the Marquis of Wellesley who was the older brother of the Duke of Wellington. Betsy Patterson's letters about her sister-in-law are bitter with jealousy and suggest that Mary was on too intimate terms with Wellington on whose doorstep, she says, the Caton sisters camped until he found highly placed husbands for them. However, a little later she wrote to her father:

I write by this packet to announce to you the marriage of Mrs. Robert Patterson. Mrs. Brown received a letter from Betsy Caton the day on which it was to take place. She has made the greatest match that any woman ever made, and I suppose now that people will see that Mrs. Caton was right in starving herself to keep her daughters in Europe. The Marquis of Wellesley is Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He is sixty-five. He married an Italian singer, by whom he had a family of children. She is dead. He has no fortune; on the contrary, he is over head and ears in debt. His salary is thirty thousand pounds per annum as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He will be there eighteen months longer, and if the king does not give him another place, he is entitled, as a *poor* nobleman, to at least a thousand pounds a year. He is the brother of the Duke of Wellington. The Catons, I suppose, will be enchanted at the match, and with reason, too, for it gives them a rank in Europe; and with Mr. Carroll's money to keep it up, they may be considered the most fortunate in the United States of America.

The second daughter, Elizabeth, married Baron Stafford. The third, Louisa Katherine, married first Colonel Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey and after his death Francis Asborne, Duke of Leeds. These three were famous beauties of their time in England and known as the American Graces. The youngest daughter, Emily, married John McTavish who was the British Consul in Baltimore and she alone had children. Emily became her grandfather's favorite and fared well in his will. Richard Caton died in 1845 and his wife in November of 1846.

In March of that year Mr. George Brown, head of the banking house of Alexander Brown & Sons, purchased Brooklandwood from Mrs. Caton and trustees under the deed of gift of her father for his son, Alexander D. Brown, and his wife, Colegate Nisbet whom he had married in 1843.<sup>12</sup> It was during his occu-

<sup>12</sup> Eugene L. Didier, *Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte* (New York: Scribner, 1879), p. 169-170.

<sup>13</sup> Baltimore County Deeds, Liber A. W. B. No. 364, f. 90 *et seq.*

pancy in the late eighteen sixties and through the seventies that the colorful tournaments described by D. Sterrett Gittings in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September 1941 were held. They were arranged by William Young, and took place on a mile track that was laid out at the foot of the hill. In later years Brooklandwood was the setting for Maryland's best known point to point races. The Maryland Hunt Cup race was first held in 1894 at Brooklandwood and was run there intermittently until 1906.<sup>14</sup> The Grand National was run there almost continuously from its first race in 1898 until 1935.<sup>15</sup>

After the death of Alexander D. Brown in 1892 his son, George Brown, came into possession of the property, and his wife, the former Fannie M. Winchester, made the extensive alterations to the house that brought it to approximately its present appearance. Newton W. Elwell's book *Architecture, Furniture and Interiors of Maryland and Virginia during the Eighteenth Century*<sup>16</sup> published in 1897, shows it very much as it is today. George Brown died in 1902 and his wife moved to Fernwood which was built to the west on the estate. In 1903 she transferred Brooklandwood to her son Henry Carroll Brown who had married Margaret C. Daly. During his occupancy the stables burned and were rebuilt on the same site and the entrance gateways from both the Falls Road and the Valley Road were built.<sup>17</sup>

In 1911 title to Brooklandwood passed from Carroll Brown to trustees of his wife's estate and from them to Captain Isaac E. Emerson by means of a contract involving a three-year annual lease. In 1916 court proceedings established the new owner's title and the balance of the purchase money to be paid. Mrs. Matthew Looram, who inherited the property from her mother, Mrs. Emerson, now presides over this charming establishment. No important architectural changes have been made by the Emersons except to the farm buildings. After a serious fire a few years ago the great barn was not rebuilt and modern dairy farm buildings were substituted. A circular pool with a fountain was built on the terrace south of the house and the greenhouse from Cylburn, the Tyson-Cotten estate, was moved to gardens built west of the house.

<sup>14</sup> Stuart Rose, *The Maryland Hunt Cup* (New York: Huntington Press, 1931).

<sup>15</sup> *The Sun*, Baltimore, March 15, 1935.

<sup>16</sup> Boston: G. H. Polley, 1897.

<sup>17</sup> Information from Mrs. Dabney, 1948.

The tradition of brilliant marriages for the daughters of Brooklandwood to sons of important families away from Baltimore established by the Caton sisters has been carried on through the succeeding generations. Daughters of the George Browns married into the famous Chicago families established by Marshall Field and Potter Palmer. Through their daughters the Emersons have become allied with Vanderbilts, Bakers and McAdoos. It was probably the advent of the Catons which first put the stamp of fashion on the Green Spring Valley, a reputation which it has sustained for 150 years.

The beginning of the Brooklandwood estate was the purchase by Charles Carroll of three hundred and three acres from John Cockey on the 18th of July, 1788. In October of 1790 he bought land east of the Falls Road from Thomas Cockey, part of which was delightfully called "Part of Addition to Poor Jamaica Man's Plague." By purchase of other land to the west he had increased his holdings to six hundred and ninety one acres by 1803 when he had the tract resurveyed. In 1812 there were fourteen hundred acres. In 1846 at the time of the sale to the Browns there were seventeen hundred and ninety-two acres. From this point it declined until at the sale to the Emersons there were but three hundred and seventy acres. Today there are approximately four hundred.

The site of the mansion is one of the finest of the older Maryland houses. Perhaps because the house was built as a summer residence, the hill top site was possible and even to be preferred. Such a site would probably not have been chosen for a house to be heated through the winter. The magnificent view to the south appears today much as it must have in Caton's day. The two descending semicircular terraces on which the house stands are unchanged and even the two honey locusts that were large trees flanking the central block of the house a hundred years ago are still standing, though one of them was almost destroyed in a recent storm. Beyond the terraces the land falls away to the broad valley floor. About half way across the valley the farm buildings make a spot of interest and give a note of domestic tranquillity. Beyond them are open fields until the wooded hills rise suddenly on the valley's southern side. A little to the east the valley of Jones's Falls unfolds to the south in gently rolling wooded hills. It is quite surprising that, because of the hills and

trees, this rather thickly populated area still looks like virgin country. The one conspicuous contemporary landmark is the Aztec top of the O'Sullivan Building in Baltimore City, nestled in the farthest fold of the Jones Falls Valley.

To the north the entrance drive leaves a sweep in front of the house and goes straight to the Falls Road along a little ridge. This approach is dominantly of the era of the Browns and is architecturally quite pleasing. The drive is bordered by grass plots of comfortable width before the lines of trees and shrubs mask the fall of the land to either side. Half way between the house and the Falls Road the stable is built about a walled court yard that opens to the drive. It is a charming building of the American revival of the English Georgian, typical of the best work of the early twentieth century. The architect was James Darragh, of New York, who also did other work in the neighborhood. The gates, gate houses and walls that flank the entrance from the Falls Road are of the same period and of the same good quality of design. Their painted brick walls and green tin roofs tie them into the house but they look English and not American. This work was designed by an English architect T. H. Mawson, in whose book, *Civic Art*,<sup>18</sup> a drawing of it appears. It was done soon after 1903 by the Carroll Browns. The entrance gates and walls from the Valley Road were also built by Mr. Carroll Brown but were added later.

Over the years the house of Brooklandwood has been changed considerably. The earliest record that we have of the house is from the Tax Assessment Book, "Back River Upper and Middle River Upper Hundreds," 1798, taken by John Orrick. Richard Caton's assessment lists one brick house, two stories, 33 by 57 feet. These are the dimensions of the central block of the house before the north wall was removed and the house enlarged, as is attested by the existing walls in the basement story. Also listed was another brick house 27 by 31 feet, one frame house 16 by 22 feet, one brick dairy 16 by 22 feet, one hen house 14 by 27 feet, one wash house 10 by 12 feet, one smoke house 13 by 15 feet, one frame hen house 13 by 16 feet. All of these dependencies have long since disappeared but as only four acres of land were valued with them they were probably clustered about the main house.

<sup>18</sup> London: Batsford, 1911.



APPROACH FRONT, BROOKLANDWOOD  
Photograph made about the time of the Civil War

*Courtesy of Mrs. Matthew J. Looram*



GARDEN FRONT, BROOKLANDWOOD  
Photograph made about the time of the Civil War

*Courtesy of Mrs. William M. Dabney*

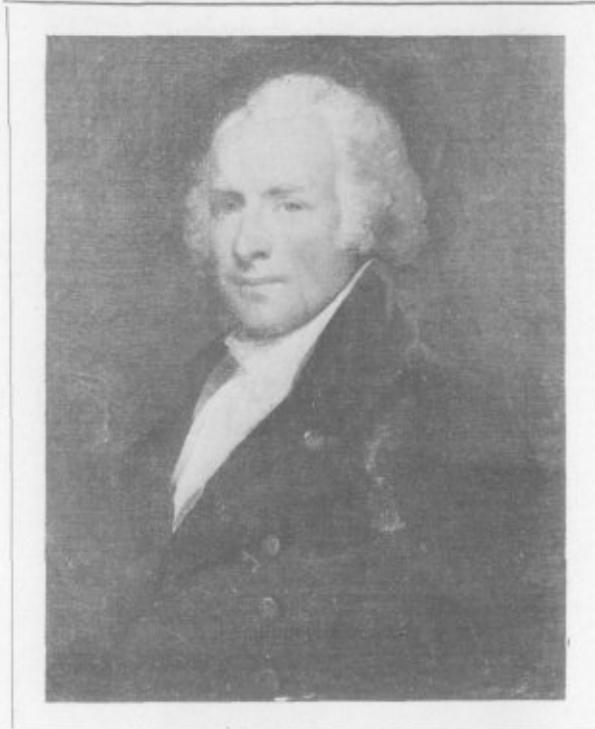


MRS. RICHARD CATON, 1770-1846

(Mary Carroll)

Artist not known

*Collection of Miss Mary Carroll MacTavish*



RICHARD CATON, 1763-1845

Artist not known

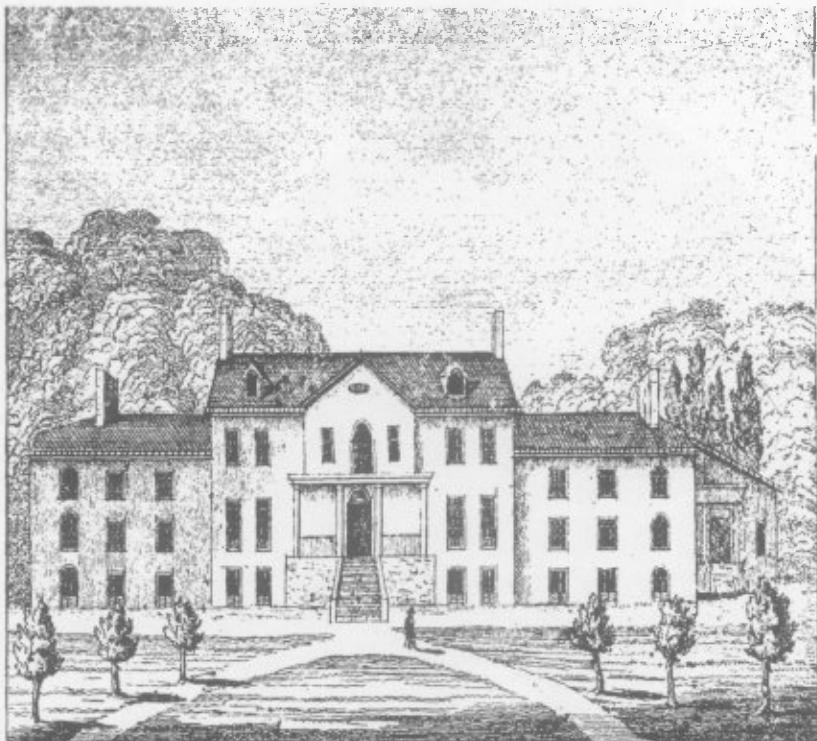
*Collection of Miss Mary Carroll MacTavish*



"The Three Graces": Marianne, Louisa Catherine and Elizabeth Caton.  
Daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Caton.

By William E. West

The individual identities of the figures in this painting unfortunately have not been preserved. In the center is probably Marianne, the eldest who married, first, Robert Patterson and after his death the Duke of Wellesley. Louisa became, first, the wife of Sir Felton Hervey Bathurst, Baronet, and then the Duchess of Leeds. Elizabeth, the third daughter, married the eighth Viscount and Baron Stafford.



**Brookland Wood**  
**The Residence of Alex. D. Brown, Esq!**

*From Robert Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857.*

The farm lands were valued separately and listed as five hundred and thirty acres.

In the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of December 15, 1812, Richard Caton gave a very interesting description of the place in the following advertisement:

#### FOR SALE

The beautiful and highly improved Estate of BROOKLANDWOOD. It is situated in the valley of Jones' Falls, and on the Falls turnpike road, distant nine miles from the city of Baltimore. There is an elegant house on the premises, the main building of which is 57 feet front, with a portico 27 by 10, the roof of which is supported by a colonade—The wings of the house have each a front of thirty feet, of which a part is unfinished—The entire building is laid off into a hall, or saloon 39 feet by 16, two parlours, a library, butler's room, fourteen bed chambers, and every convenience in good style and arrangement. The Stable establishment is very complete, contained within a building of good architecture, of 90 feet by 30, and consists of two Stables, a cow house, a roomy coach house, harness room, manure pits, gardner's house, root cellars, tool house, and groom's Apartments. There is a large hot bed yard in good condition fronting the stable. There are also, conveniently situated a bathing house, and an Ice House; a fruit garden, a vegetable garden, and three orchards. This estate contains 1400 acres of land, of which nearly 500 are in wood—1,000 acres including 350 to 400 of wood may be ranked among the first farms in the United States. Nearly 400 acres of this may be irrigated, and made into upland meadow. The land is of the first quality for wheat, lies on limestone of easy access. The quantity of 1400 acres offered for sale, is capable of a division into four farms, with much convenience.

On the premises is a Merchant Mill, with three pairs of stones, that will be sold with or without the farms. There are besides, two or three Mill Seats, calculated for Manufactories; as the country is healthy and abundant, and in point of beauty of situation, embellishment and fertility, the property now offered for sale is unrivalled. There is a bed of soft and fine-grained marble on the Land, and yields slabs of the largest dimensions, with little trouble and expense.

A long credit will be given for a great portion of the purchase money, on paying the interest annually. For terms, apply to Johnston Clark, on the premises, or to James Neilson, No. 46 South St., Baltimore.

RICHARD CATON

Of course, real estate advertisements are notorious for their glowing descriptions, but in this case they were well warranted. To an architect it is interesting to note that "good architecture," even as expressed in stables, was a selling point worth pointing

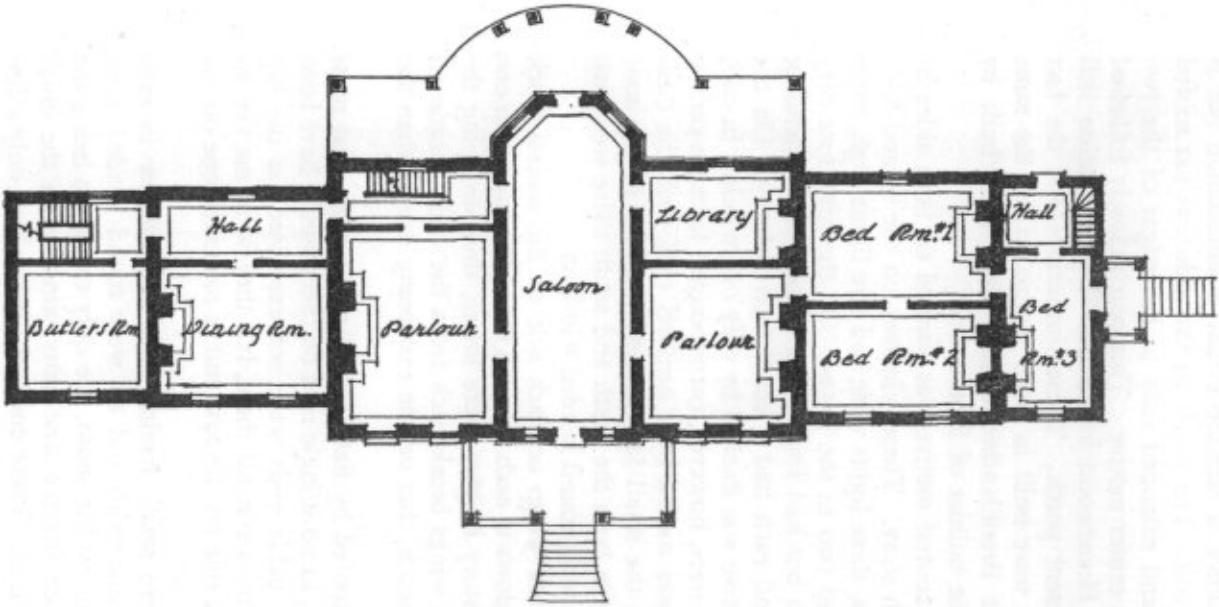
out. The statement that there were two wings but that they were unfinished dates them for us. It is needless to add that at this time Mr. Caton was in serious financial difficulty.

The house, complete with its wings, appears as a border illustration on Robert Taylor's map of the "The City and County of Baltimore," dated 1857, and the present owner also has two photographs, one of the north and one of the south elevation. The one of the north elevation was probably taken just before the Civil War and the other a few years later. They are said to have been found in London. It is pleasant to think that they may have belonged to one of the Caton sisters.

These sources show a mansion symmetrical in both the north and south elevations, except that the west end motive is a few feet wider than the east one. It is of a five part composition, so dear to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but all of two stories, so that it does not conform to the more usual design of a main block with two end pavilions connected by passages or curtains.

The central motive on the north was a hipped roofed semi-octagonal bay, with short straight returns to the main house. The central face of the bay was slightly longer and contained a round headed window in the second story and a high, narrow doorway with semicircular transom on the first floor. The sloping sides of the bay had blank square headed panels of the same size as the adjoining windows of the main block on the second floor. On the first floor these sides had a single window with sills lining with the windows in the wings. The foundation of this motive still exists in the basement story. A porch extended entirely across the main block. It curved out around the central motive. Of its eight columns four were paired at the sides of the central doorway. This central motive and porch closely resemble those of Belvedere as shown in a painting in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. The half octagon with hipped roof was a popular building form in Annapolis where the Carrolls and Catons spent much of their time.

On the south, where the land falls away enough to expose most of the basement, the central motive was a slight forward projection with a pediment which broke the horizontal cornice. On the second floor it had a very successful Palladian window. On the first floor this motive contained a round headed doorway and two



BROOKLANDWOOD IN 1860  
RECONSTRUCTED FLOOR PLAN BY THE AUTHOR

This plan of Brooklandwood is thought, by its author, to show the development of the house as completed by the Catons. It is dated 1860 because it shows the north and east porches which were not mentioned by Caton in his advertisement of 1812 but which we see in the earliest photograph.

The perimeter walls and main division walls are all existing through the basement story. All fire places are existing except the one in the "Library" and the one in the "Bed Room No. 1." The earlier existence of these two is indicated by the foundations beneath them and the number of flues in the existing chimneys.

The locations of the stairs and cross partitions are undocumented but are based on the otherwise unexplainable location of the fireplaces, on the list of rooms from Caton's advertisement, on the necessities of a workable plan and to some extent on the existing basement masonry partitions.

distinct narrow windows, a treatment that is uncommon but is used also at Homewood. The porch on this side was flat roofed with four columns and extended only to the edges of the two windows nearest the center motive. This porch closely followed the north porch at Homewood in design. Its foundation still exists under the present porch. These similarities and the fact that the two houses were built in close succession for the same patron, suggest that Brooklandwood may have been built by William Edwards, the builder of Homewood.

On the south the central motive was flanked on both sides by two windows in each story. These windows on the second floor were, as they still are, three lights wide and five lights high, three in the upper sash and two in the lower. On the first floor they were the same width but had four lights in each sash extending them to the floor and each had a small iron balcony. On the north the central motive was flanked by only one window in each story. The window sizes, however, corresponded to those on the south. This block was roofed by a gambrel roof with the flush chimneys concealing the small low pitched portions of the roof on the gable ends. On both the north and south there were two pedimented dormers with round headed windows.

The first unit of the wings on each side of the central block had two smaller windows in each story on the south and again one on the north. The story heights were lower, thus dropping the cornice line. These wings break back from the main facade on both the north and south, that on the east being deeper than the one on the west.

The wings were roofed by flat pitched gable roofs that must always have been tin, as no shingle roof on them would have been weather tight. The gable ends were not expressed, as the hip roofs of the end motives conceal them, but they were marked by the chimneys, a wide one on the east end, a narrower one on the west.

The end units were small, having only one window in each story on the north and south and all were round headed, even those in the basement on the south, the only exception being the substitution of a door for the first story window on the north elevation of the east unit. These end units break back only a few inches from the adjoining facades, and this break was taken up in the depth of the cornice soffit so that it did not interrupt the

roof. The west unit was several feet wider than the east one. These end motives are quite similar to those on the main block of White Hall. On the east end of the house there was a small rectangular porch with a central door opening on to it. The detailing of the house was simple, with only the cornices rich in dentils and brackets, and the iron balconies to set it off.

No outside blinds are shown in the early photographs, and probably none were intended, as many houses of the period were designed without them. As later generations found, it is difficult to put blinds on Palladian motives and on windows that have small cast-iron balconies, as the four large south windows had. There would also have been interference with the porch pilasters on the south.

The brick of the house is painted a light color, and may have always been so, or it may have been done to tie all the building together when additions were made. Doughoregan is also painted, and painting was fashionable in the early nineteenth century. All of the brick work of the Carroll-Caton building is Flemish bond. The Browns used common bond for their additions.

Mrs. George Brown made extensive alterations during her occupancy. The entire north wall of the middle block was removed and a straight facade built, adding considerably (about fifteen feet) to the depth of the house. It is this facade that we now see and it is not a very successful one. The cornice was raised to permit the use of a Palladian motive in the center without breaking the cornice. The roof continued to be a gambrel type with a large relatively flat deck surrounded by a balustrade. Care was taken to match the cornice and other trim in an effort to keep the additions in the character of the old building.

The porch was entirely rebuilt, extending not only across the middle block, but across the east wing as well, and a porte-cochère was added. The wings themselves were altered on the first floor by additions.

On the south elevation the changes were not quite so radical. The round headed doorway with the two thin windows gave way to a wide, elliptical headed doorway with side lights identical with the one on the north. The porch was extended entirely across the south side of the main block and later as terraces beyond the first windows of the wings. Along the new porch the first floor's double-hung windows, and the iron balconies disappeared, and

were replaced by French doors. Outside blinds were installed at all windows with the resulting difficulties at the Palladian window. The east porch got another of the wide elliptical headed doorways, though not quite as wide as the other two, and grew a semicircular bulge in the center which the porch is really too small to carry. The original west end motive was apparently taken down and another two-story unit with four windows was added to the west end of the house.

The interior of the house was completely changed, both in plan and decoration by Mrs. George Brown when she enlarged the central block. It is probable that, originally, the house had one large room and stair hall on the west side of the wide central hall, and the library and small parlour on the east. The kitchen and other service rooms were in the basement and perhaps four corner bedrooms and a hall sitting room on the second floor. It is said that the wing added to the east contained a chapel, though Caton does not mention it in his advertisement, and that the small end motive was occupied by the estate office and a small hall. The west wing may have been a dining room and pantry. Now, the main floor still has the central hall. It is flanked on the north by two stair halls, one a grand one and the other more utilitarian. On the south there is a small parlor to the east and the dining room to the west. Large elliptical headed openings have been cut to these rooms and the main stair hall. The "chapel" in the east wing is now the living room and the estate office and hall in the end motive have been thrown into one and used as a study. In the west wing a hall extends along the north side, opening first into a breakfast room in the old wing (this room was a study in the Browns' time), then into a serving pantry and, finally, into another living room. These last two rooms are in the addition the Browns built to the west and the present kitchens are below them.

The work was done at the beginning of the Georgian revival so the detail, though over elaborate, is not foreign to the original house. The mantels were made by Meislahn, as was probably much of the other wood work. Mrs. Carroll Brown imported from England three marble mantels and richly carved trim of Georgian design for the main hall, small parlour and dining room. She also made several other minor decorative changes. The delicacy the house must have originally possessed has gone, but there

is still charm. The architecture of the interior gives a rich and appropriate background for its handsome furnishings.

It is fortunate that the house in its one hundred and fifty years has been occupied by only three families, and that these families have all taken pride in its beauty and have used the best taste of their respective periods with much regard for the original architecture in their inevitable changes to it.

## ST. CHARLES COLLEGE: FOUNDATION AND EARLY YEARS

By Reverend JOHN J. TIERNEY, S. S.

St. Charles College, founded by Charles Carroll of Carrollton in 1830 as a school "for the education of young men of the Roman Catholic religion, for the ministry of the gospel,"<sup>1</sup> is this year celebrating the centenary of its opening. By its very nature a specialized school, St. Charles has not been well-known to the general public of Baltimore or Maryland, not even to many Catholics. It has, however, been well-known to many generations of bishops and priests in almost every part of the country, for from its opening on October 31, 1848, it proved to be the first successful preparatory seminary in the country. As a Maryland institution, its history has been closely interwoven with two prominent Maryland families, the Carrolls and the Jenkinses. A famous Maryland clergyman, Samuel Eccleston of Chestertown, fifth Archbishop of Baltimore, was directly responsible for its opening.

The background of St. Charles is as old as the establishment of the American hierarchy and the coming of the Sulpicians from France to Maryland to establish a seminary for the young church in America. For one thing, Catholics were not many even in Maryland, the Calvert foundation. Few young men presented themselves at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, as candidates for the vast diocese which then was Baltimore. To remedy this situation, the Rev. W. L. DuBourg, S. S., (later bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas) opened St. Mary's College in 1799. By 1803 financial difficulties, occasioned by the paucity of clerical students, caused St. Mary's to be opened to any and all students. At once that college lost its character as a preparatory seminary. St. Mary's College from 1805 to 1828 supplied the Seminary with only thirty-one candidates for the priesthood; of these thirty-one, only seven became priests.<sup>2</sup> Next, under the Rev. F. C. Nagot, S.S.,

<sup>1</sup> *Laws of Maryland*, Session December 1829, Chapter 50, Preamble.

<sup>2</sup> *Procès-Verbal de la Visite des Établissements de S. Sulpice à Baltimore, faite en*

founder and first superior of St. Mary's Seminary, there was founded a preparatory Seminary at Pigeon Hill, Adams County, Pennsylvania, in 1806. This promising foundation was short-lived. Partially, this was due to a serious accident to Father Nagot, partially, to the return from France of M. Joseph Harent, an émigré, who once more had need for the property he previously had placed at the disposal of the Sulpicians. In 1808 the students from Pigeon Hill were transferred to Mount St. Mary's at Emmitsburg, the foundation of the Rev. John Dubois, S. S., (later bishop of New York). Faced with the same difficulty as St. Mary's College, mostly a lack of vocations and a corresponding need of money, the Mount opened its doors in 1811 to all comers.<sup>8</sup>

Besides the reasons already stated, lack of students and a corresponding lack of money, other reasons are not hard to find for this succession of failures. The tide of German and Irish immigration which so swelled Catholic numbers had not yet set in. In every sense of the word, the United States was a missionary country, and, as such, could not supply its own financial needs or personnel. Secondly, Catholics, as a body, were not well-to-do, and few could afford the modest tuitions asked. Thirdly, America was a land of rich opportunity, and the attractions of wealth had a powerful tendency to stifle a call to the ecclesiastical life.

If these failures to establish a feeder for the Seminary were discouraging to most Sulpicians, there was, nonetheless, one who was vitally interested, Ambrose Maréchal, S. S., third Archbishop of Baltimore. This interest coupled with an old and intimate friendship with Charles Carroll of Carrollton was destined to fill the need so long felt. One of a number of Sulpicians who had served as chaplain at Doughoregan Manor, Father Maréchal had won the confidence and affection of Maryland's first citizen. Elevated to the see of Baltimore, Archbishop Maréchal was now faced with the need of finding and encouraging vocations to the priesthood. His influence with Mr. Carroll persuaded the vener-

1829 par M. Carrière, Directeur du Séminaire de Paris. (Ms.) St. Mary's Seminary Archives. (Hereafter referred to as S. M. S. A.), p. 125. This manuscript contains copious information on St. Mary's Seminary and St. Mary's College.

<sup>8</sup> *Régistre des Assemblées*, May 26, 1818. (Ms.) S. M. S. A. This contains the records of the faculty meetings of the Baltimore Sulpicians and other important records. The story of Pigeon Hill and of Emmitsburg are sketched in *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States* (1791-1829), by the Rev. Joseph W. Ruane, S. S. (Washington: 1935), pp. 160-168.

able Signer to back his project.<sup>4</sup> According to Sulpician tradition the actual task of winning over Mr. Carroll was left by the Archbishop to Miss Emily Caton, the Signer's granddaughter. As for land, Carroll was unwilling to break up his ancestral estate, but when Miss Caton pointed out land acquired through purchase by himself, he readily agreed to the project. The tract in question, opposite the Manor on Frederick Turnpike, was called "Mary's Lot," and the religious significance of that name prompted whole-hearted cooperation on the part of the venerable patriarch. "Since it was so named, I will give it to the Church for the important design that you have in view."<sup>5</sup>

Having acquainted the Sulpicians with his plans, Mr. Carroll petitioned the Maryland Legislature for a charter on January 21, 1830. He did this almost two years after Archbishop Maréchal's death. There was speedy approval of the bill, which passed the legislature on February 3, 1830. Whether it was the influence of Archbishop Maréchal or of the Baltimore superior, Mr. Carroll had the legislators bind St. Charles College in such a way that it could not become a general college as had its predecessors. The charter was, then, most specific in its designation of the aims of the new college, for it stated:

And be it further enacted, that all the property which shall be received, and held by the said Corporation, as well real as personal, and whether derived by gift, devise, bequest, purchase or otherwise, shall be held by them, to and for the only purpose, and in trust exclusively, for the education of pious young men of the Catholic persuasion, for the ministry of the gospel.<sup>6</sup>

The land given to the Sulpicians, "Mary's Lot," was part of Doughoregan Manor "enlarged" (to quote the deed) and amounted to 254½ acres. It formed a rough quadrangle with no distinctive landmarks on the east and west; on the north, however,

<sup>4</sup> The College catalogue of 1895 was the first to contain this information: "When, therefore, Dr. Maréchal had agreed with Mr. Carroll upon the foundation of the new College. . . ." p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. George E. Viger, S.S., *Golden Jubilee Book of St. Charles' College*. (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1898), pp. 15-16. A history written for the celebration of that year. When checked against surviving documents etc., this volume has been found accurate and reliable though it lacks the appearances of a scientific history, having no footnotes and few citations of sources. Father Viger had full access to all the documents which perished in the fire of 1911, including the valuable Letter-book and Journal of Father Jenkins.

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of Maryland*, 1829. Chap. 50, Section 5.

it was bounded by the Little Patuxent River and on the south, by Frederick Turnpike. This property was directly opposite that section of the Manor where the great house itself was situated. Entrances to Doughoregan and to St. Charles faced each other across the Turnpike.

Appointed trustees of St. Charles were Louis Deluol, superior of the Sulpician community, John J. Chanche, Samuel Eccleston, John Tessier, and Alexius J. Elder. All were Sulpicians. Of the five, two were to be prelates, Chanche becoming Bishop of Natchez, and Eccleston, Archbishop of Baltimore. To Father Deluol as "the first Principal of the said Seminary,"<sup>7</sup> Mr. William G. Read, the Carroll lawyer, brought the deed of the land, and a certificate for fifty shares of United States Bank stock.<sup>8</sup> "The letter of Mr. Carroll he gave to me on his knees in the room of Mr. Eccleston where he found me. I soon placed the deed on the altar to offer it to Our Lord."<sup>9</sup> The letter of Mr. Carroll to Father Deluol, delivered on the same occasion, stated that the trustees were always to be Sulpicians, requested that Mass be said once a month for himself and his family and contained the hope "that this gift may be useful to religion, and aid our Church in rearing those who will guide us in the way of truth. . . ."<sup>10</sup>

The trustees met for the first time on July 16, 1830. Officers were elected; a seal was adopted: "the arms of the Hon. Ch. Carroll of Carrollton with those of St. Sulpitius; a letter of gratitude was dispatched to Mr. Carroll, part of which read:

It would be presumptuous, my dear sir, to offer our acknowledgments for a donation which gives you a claim to the gratitude of the whole American Church. Yet, as you have made us the channel of your pious and enlightened liberality, we may be allowed to say that we appreciate the honor implied in the choice. St. Charles Seminary will not, we pledge ourselves, be unfaithful to the memory of its venerable and illustrious founder. Impressed in its origin with the moral dignity associated with his name, it will be a lasting monument of his princely munificence.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Journal of the Corporation of St. Charles College in Anne Arundel County, now Howard County, Maryland, p. 8. (Hereafter cited as Journal of the Corporation). St. Charles College Archives. (Hereafter cited as S. C. C. A.)

<sup>9</sup> Diary of the Rev. Louis R. Deluol, S. S. (Ms.) March 27, 1830. This is a day by day record covering the years Father Deluol was head of St. Mary's Seminary, 1829-1849. (All references to Father Deluol's Diary are translations.) (Hereafter cited as Deluol's Diary). S. M. S. A.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of the Corporation*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

It was a year from the granting of the charter before the trustees had formulated sufficient plans to proceed to the building.<sup>12</sup> Ignatius Boarman was the builder, but by May he was "praying the Board to accept his resignation of the charge of superintending the building of St. Charles College." The resignation was accepted and Mr. William Pamphilion was accepted "as being a man in every way calculated for the undertaking."<sup>13</sup> At the same time Mr. Adolphus Williamson (later a priest) gave three thousand dollars to the trustees, on condition that the front of the house should be built of cut granite. The condition was accepted.<sup>14</sup>

Work was far enough advanced for the laying of the corner-stone on July 11, 1831. The superior of St. Mary's Seminary noted in his diary:

Blessing of the corner-stone of St. Charles. . . . Arrived at noon. Went at first to the Manor. Then between one and two o'clock came to the site. Mr. Carroll laid the corner-stone which the archbishop had just blessed. There were about a hundred persons present amongst whom were Mr. Caton, Mr. Mactavish with his daughter, Mary Wellesley, Dr. Tucker and his wife with their son. The latter with Mary Wellesley helped with the stone.<sup>15</sup>

A Baltimore newspaper carried the same information as did Father Deluol's diary, but added:

The main building will be 80 feet by 60, constructed of dressed granite from a remarkably fine quarry lately opened in the vicinity. We have no doubt, from the intentions of the Board of Trustees aided by the talents of the distinguished architect, Mr. Small, and the activities of the undertaker, Mr. Pamphillion [*sic*], that the building will be an ornament to the State.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, the wish of the *Gazette* was not to be so easily realized. The charter was granted on February 3, 1830, the school was opened October 31, 1848. Why this long delay? Reasons are not hard to find. St. Charles was, so far, the work of one man, Charles Carroll. The land, the endowment, the charter were his gift. Mr. Carroll died November 14, 1832, and the death of so

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Deluol's Diary*, July 11, 1831.

<sup>16</sup> *The Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, July 14, 1831. Mr. Small was doubtless William Small, a well-known Baltimore architect.

kind a benefactor was keenly felt. Most of all, then, funds were missing to bring the building to completion and to furnish it. Another reason for the delay was the indecision of the Sulpicians themselves, many of whom felt that the new institution might be a threat to St. Mary's College. As we have seen, St. Mary's, beginning as an auxiliary to the Seminary, had become a general college in 1803 through force of economic circumstances. Such a college was not strictly Sulpician work, but it was most flourishing; and it did give some students to the Seminary, so there was a hesitancy on the part of many Sulpicians to undertake a new work and from past experience one fraught with difficulty.<sup>17</sup> A verdict on St. Mary's College in relation to the Seminary is found in St. Mary's *Memorial Volume*:

The measure taken in 1803, of receiving subjects without discrimination of creed or aspiration, while it gave impetus to St. Mary's College, destroyed its peculiar character of Preparatory Seminary. It became a mixed College, and comparatively few subjects found or preserved there clerical vocation.<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, efforts were not lacking to open St. Charles College if the necessary money could be raised. Father Deluol wrote to the Congregation of the Propaganda in Rome asking assistance. He stated that some gifts had been received: Archbishop Whitfield had given \$500; the Rev. Roger Smith, pastor of the Cathedral, \$100; Adolphus Williamson, \$3,000. In all, including Mr. Carroll's bank stock which amounted to \$5,349, close to \$10,000 had been received but "eight or ten thousand dollars are still necessary so that we can complete what we have begun to build."<sup>19</sup> Cardinal Pedicini, Prefect of Propaganda, sent a contribution of 500 scuta or about \$500.<sup>20</sup>

On April 7, 1832, Father Deluol wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons similarly putting forth his case. He wrote not only in his capacity as head of the Sulpicians in the United States but also as Vicar General of Baltimore.<sup>21</sup> Archbishop Whitfield wrote the same Society on January 12, 1833,

<sup>17</sup> Viger, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice*, (Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1891), p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Letter-Book of the Rev. Louis Deluol, pp. 66-68.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69. A letter from Cardinal Pedicini to Father Deluol.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.

asking assistance for, and explaining the purpose and need of, St. Charles:

In asking your Society's assistance in behalf of this institution so important for religion in this country, he [Father Deluol] explained to you its necessity, its purpose and the resources of the institution: its necessity is imperative, its purpose excellent, but unfortunately its resources are not in keeping with it, they are utterly insufficient as is clearly shown by the details given you in the above-mentioned letter.

After stating that the Roman Propaganda contributed 500 scuta, he stated that work had had to be suspended on the building which was now two-thirds completed. He then concluded:

The desire I have to see a nursery established in my diocese for the training of young levites made me consecrate to this purpose part of the resources you kindly granted me last year, but in so doing I am placed in a situation which made it impossible for me to start or to continue other important undertakings.

On June 15, 1836, the new Archbishop of Baltimore, Samuel Eccleston, S. S., issued a letter to the Catholics of Baltimore in which he stated his hopes for the completion of two works: his cathedral and St. Charles. In a plea for funds for both projects he wrote:

Another and still more important work is the finishing of St. Charles College. . . . This institution is intended exclusively for the preparatory education of Catholic boys who are disposed to devote themselves to the holy ministry. There, they will be free from the dangers to which their vocation might be exposed in secular colleges. . . . In the estimation of those who have had the best opportunities of coming to a correct judgment such an establishment, if not indispensable, is at least the greatest *desideratum* in the American church.<sup>22</sup>

In writing to the Propagation of the Faith, on January 31, 1838, Archbishop Eccleston asked assistance for St. Charles stating that "the only means to obtain a clergy adapted to our needs and fitted to the missions of this country, is to found an institution exclusively devoted to the education of those who wish to study for the priesthood." Moreover, he continues, "considering this nursery of clerical students as the hope of my diocese, I have several times gathered the faithful together to stimulate their

<sup>22</sup> Circular letter *To the Catholics of Baltimore*, June 15, 1836. St. Charles College Archives (Hereafter cited as S.C.C.A.).

charity, and have even gone from door to door to solicit assistance.”<sup>23</sup>

To similar thoughts the Archbishop had given expression when writing to the same association in 1843:

One of the things that I desire most, is the formation of a national clergy accustomed from infancy to the manners and language of the country, and at the same time pious, instructed, and sufficiently numerous. On the other hand, the vocation of our young Americans is too liable to be lost in colleges, where they necessarily come in contact with Protestants and other fellow students, whose heads are already filled with ideas of money, of speculation, commerce, etc. . . .”<sup>24</sup>

Some financial help did come during these years of delay. Besides what has been mentioned, Mr. Thomas C. Jenkins, Sr., gave \$1,090 in 1834. In February, 1841, Mrs. Edward Jenkins gave \$800. The handsome sum of \$6,000 was the gift of the Rev. B. S. Piot, pastor of St. Paul’s Church, Ellicott Mills. It was his entire patrimony and given on the condition that his wants should be provided for in his old age. This gift came in 1840 and with it the debts were paid and some improvements were made within the house. Up to 1848, Colonel William Drury of Washington County gave \$5,816 and from his estate in 1848 came the sum of \$2,430.<sup>25</sup> These gifts made it possible for the Archbishop to seriously consider the opening of St. Charles.

On September 26, 1848, the Reverend Louis Deluol, president of St. Mary’s Seminary and of the trustees of St. Charles, and superior of the Sulpicians in the United States, received a visit from Archbishop Eccleston. Father Deluol stated in his diary that the Archbishop “came in order to start St. Charles College. I do not believe in the success of the enterprise, but since Msgr. wills it, so shall it be done.”<sup>26</sup> On September 29 the Archbishop wrote to the Reverend Oliver L. Jenkins, S. S., Professor at St. Mary’s College, appointing him President of St. Charles College. Father Jenkins wrote in his *Journal*:

After some hesitation, I wrote an answer to the Most Rev. Archbishop, telling him that I could not consider myself as President, since the Superior had not yet said a word to me about it. However, in the afternoon, in a

<sup>23</sup> Viger, pp. 22, 23.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> An account in the handwriting of the Rev. O. L. Jenkins (S.C.C.A.).

<sup>26</sup> *Deluol's Diary*, September 26, 1848.

conversation which I had with Mr. Deluol, he told me that, although it went against his feelings to part with me, and although he had great doubts as to the success of the scheme, yet he thought it was the will of God, that I should undertake the charge which the Archbishop wished to be confided to me.<sup>27</sup>

The selection of Father Jenkins seems to have been the work of the Reverend Gilbert Raymond, S. S., President of St. Mary's College. He is said to have suggested this member of his faculty to the Archbishop.<sup>28</sup> On October 1, Fathers Jenkins and Raymond paid a visit to St. Charles to inspect the site and the building.<sup>29</sup> On October 4, there was a meeting of the remaining trustees named in the Act of 1830: the Archbishop, Fathers Deluol and Elder. The business was to fill the two vacancies caused by the death of Father Tessier and the departure of Bishop Chanche for the see of Natchez. Those elected were Fathers Jenkins and Raymond.<sup>30</sup> On October 5, the Archbishop issued a letter to the priests and people of his diocese, setting forth his reasons for opening St. Charles. He lamented the great lack of priests to staff his parishes and at the same time he noted that the harvest of souls was "spreading and thickening." He paid high tribute to the zealous work of the "devoted clergymen from foreign lands" but went on to say: "The experience of all ages and Christian countries proves that a National Church must seek within its own bosom the resources of its own fecundity and prosperity." In conclusion, the Archbishop ordered a collection to be taken up in all his churches the Sunday after this letter was read that funds might be on hand to furnish the house and defray immediate necessities. Also, every year a collection should be taken up in his churches for the benefit of St. Charles College.<sup>31</sup>

On October 30, Archbishop Eccleston came to St. Mary's Seminary to attend a dinner honoring Father Jenkins and to accept the resignation of Father Elder as a trustee.<sup>32</sup> The next day Father Jenkins betook himself to the building standing empty these seventeen years, and, by that evening, St. Charles College had

<sup>27</sup> Viger, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> *Deluol's Diary*, October 1, 1848.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1848. Journal, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> *The United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*. Nov. 1848. pp. 602-603.

<sup>32</sup> *Deluol's Diary*, Oct. 30, 1848. Journal, p. 11.

begun its existence. With Father Jenkins went one teacher, Rev. Mr. Edward Caton, a deacon; Catherine Naddy, a housekeeper; and four students, all from Baltimore: John B. Connolly, Michael Dausch, Joseph Gross, and William Garvey.”<sup>33</sup> It was a busy day and, no doubt, a unique one especially for the four young men. Night prayers and meditation closed the day. In his *Journal* Father Jenkins wrote for that day: “So much for the first day, one for me of great anxiety, but withal a prosperous Commencement.”<sup>34</sup>

The prospectus of St. Charles, issued by Father Jenkins concurrently with the Archbishop’s circular letter, clearly stated the aim and purpose of the Carroll foundation. Moreover, the history of a hundred years has been a faithful reflection of that policy laid down by its founder and its first president:

The object of this institution is to give a religious and classical education only to that class of youth, whose piety, natural endowments, and aptitude for Church ceremonies and functions, give sufficient indications of a vocation to the ECCLESIASTICAL STATE. These indications are left to the decision of their confessor, whose recommendation will be required for their reception. If however, upon examination, any one is found unsuited to the clerical state, he will be advised to retire. Every effort will be made to promote the happiness of those confided to the care of the institution; to maintain a spirit of piety, and that practice of those Christian virtues, which will prepare them for becoming zealous and efficient clergymen and future ornaments of the sanctuary.<sup>35</sup>

The course of studies was outlined by Father Jenkins in the prospectus as follows:

Latin, Greek, English, French and German languages; History, Geography, Mathematics, Moral and Natural Philosophy. The study of the Catholic Doctrine, Religious Ceremonies and Singing will also form an essential portion of the education imparted by the establishment.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> A Complete List of the Students Entered at St. Charles’ College, Ellicott City, Maryland, Since the Opening, October 31st, 1848. (Staten Island, N. Y.: Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, 1897). No pagination. Students listed as they entered. Index. (Hereafter cited as *St. Charles’ College Student List, 1848-1897*.)

<sup>34</sup> Viger, p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> In the *Golden Jubilee volume*, p 27. the author has the following interesting comment to make on this point: “This adherence to principle was put to the test when, in 1849, an application was made for the admission of a great-grandson of the founder. As the young man had no intention to study for the Church, the trustees, honored though they were by the application, and anxious to show their gratitude to the family of their first benefactor, were obliged to give a refusal. The incident was like a seal confirming the condition which requires a clerical spirit for admission into St. Charles College.”

<sup>36</sup> The United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review, Nov. 1848, p. 603.

This course of studies has somewhat been modified to meet educational demands or Church requirements, but St. Charles College still remains a classical school as Father Jenkins outlined it. A change is noted by 1863 when the course of Moral and Natural Philosophy was shifted to St. Mary's Seminary.<sup>37</sup> but the rest of the course remained the same. In comparing the original course offered with the latest catalogue, one finds little difference indeed: Latin, Greek, English, French and German, History, Mathematics, General Science, Physics and Chemistry, Public Speaking, Religion and Gregorian Chant.

In speaking of the schooling proper, it should be understood that the minor or preparatory and the major seminary courses together cover a twelve year period, each course of six years duration. The preparatory seminary offers four years of high school and two of college, the seminary, the remaining two of college, called Philosophy, and four of post-graduate work in theology. St. Charles College is the classical department of St. Mary's University (St. Mary's Seminary was created a pontifical university in 1822 by Pius VII at the request of Archbishop Maréchal). As would be expected, since Latin is the official language of the Catholic Church, the greatest emphasis is placed upon that language in the curriculum. Beyond this emphasis on Latin, the course offered in a preparatory seminary differs little from any school of the classical tradition.

In its conclusion, the prospectus stated that the terms were \$100, payable half-yearly in advance. If clothing were supplied by the school, the terms were \$130, but there were no extras. In the '60's the tuition became \$120 yearly and \$180 in the '70's. If the vacation period was spent at the College, an extra \$30 was charged.<sup>38</sup>

Little is known of that first year. Seventeen boys registered but three left during the year. The end of the year saw professors come from the seminary in Baltimore to conduct, along with Father Jenkins and Mr. Caton, the oral examinations which were long the practice at the end of the school year. On July 13, wrote Father Jenkins in his Journal, "the whole day was occupied in the examination of twelve boys, who generally answered satis-

<sup>37</sup> Prospectus of St. Charles's College, 1863. S. C. C. A.

<sup>38</sup> Prospectus of 1863 and of 1871. (S.C.C.A.)

factorily. The time allotted to each one for examination was a half hour. Next day the examination was continued, followed by the Distribution of Premiums.”<sup>39</sup> Vacations came late in those days and, even in the '60's, vacations began on or after July 4. Commencements have normally, from the first commencement to the last one, been presided over by the Archbishop of Baltimore.<sup>40</sup> In 1853, Archbishop Bedini, papal nuncio to Brazil, attended with Archbishop Kenrick. At the Commencement on July 12, 1857, Colonel Charles Carroll, grandson of the Signer, presided, and the address was given by James Gibbons, the future Cardinal.<sup>41</sup> In 1879 the Commencement was presided over by Governor John Lee Carroll.

A glance at the early days of St. Charles is sufficient evidence that life was hard indeed, but willingly borne for the sake of the goal. Before taking up the students, the professors, and the buildings, the following quotation may serve to show primitive conditions:

The prospect of the priesthood at a future day, and the thought of the high moral obligations entailed by this vocation, have been, in the hands of the directors, a powerful means of action on the students; and, for the students themselves, very influential motives. It was such motives that stimulated them to bear the hardships of community life, which were not inconsiderable, especially in the beginning. Indeed, those times were full of privations for both masters and students. Fr. Jenkins was President, treasurer, prefect of discipline and studies, teacher of most of the classes, and teacher, too, in theology, of Rev. Mr. Caton. Professors and pupils took their recreation and their walks together; together also they sat at the same table, where to have fresh meat once a week was a luxury. Then and for many years after, they worked occasionally in the field, helping at planting or husking corn.<sup>42</sup>

In the beginning, the school was small, but there was a steady growth in numbers although declines are noted regularly in years following business panics or depressions. The following figures show the registration of students for the first twenty years:

<sup>39</sup> Viger, p. 28.

<sup>40</sup> From 1860 to 1869 there were three commencement speeches, one in Latin, one in French, and one in English. After 1869 the French speech was discontinued; the Latin was discontinued in 1933.

<sup>41</sup> Viger, pp. 30, 31.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

1848 — 17	1853 — 15	1858 — 56	1863 — 49
1849 — 12	1854 — 24	1859 — 63	1864 — 50
1850 — 14	1855 — 29	1860 — 46	1865 — 70
1851 — 14	1856 — 45	1861 — 26	1866 — 65
1852 — 24	1857 — 37	1862 — 43	1867 — 61

That first year all students came from the archdiocese of Baltimore, 13 from Maryland and 4 from the District of Columbia. The second year saw the first out-of-staters represented: one from New York City and two from Canton, Ohio. The third year saw a student from Toronto, Canada. Thereafter, students came from most sections of the country east of the Mississippi, although the South was never strongly represented. In the first twenty-five years, 242 students came from Maryland and 40 from the District of Columbia, a total of 282 for the Baltimore archdiocese. The second twenty-five years saw 212 from the state and 62 from the District, or a total of 274. In the first quarter-century New York state sent 177 and Massachusetts 174. In the second, New York led in students with 295, Maryland and the District had 274, Massachusetts 226, Connecticut 217. The first fifty years saw 8 from California and 62 from foreign countries.<sup>43</sup> Of the Maryland students the majority came from Baltimore.

The first two professors, Father Jenkins and Mr. Caton, have been mentioned. Mr. Caton remained as teacher until 1852. The second year saw the advent of two outstanding men. Father Gilbert Raymond, S. S., who first had suggested Father Jenkins to Archbishop Eccleston, came to replace Father Jenkins as president of St. Charles when the latter was called to the presidency of St. Mary's College. Father Raymond is spoken of as a cultured man of versatile talents, extensive acquirements, and quite indefatigable. He remained head of St. Charles only one year (Sept. 1, 1849 — Sept. 26, 1850) when he was recalled to France.<sup>44</sup> The second man was the Reverend J. B. Menu, S. S., who arrived from France in 1849, and remained there until his death on March 10,

<sup>43</sup> Figures are taken from the *St. Charles College Student List, 1848-1897*, and from college catalogues.

<sup>44</sup> *Deluol's Diary*, Aug. 28, 29, 30, 31; Sept. 1, 1849. Lhomme's Diary. (Ms.) Sept. 26, 1850 (Tr.) (S. M. S. A.). The Rev. Francis Lhomme succeeded Father Deluol as superior of the Sulpicians in the United States. He kept a diary or record-book such as had Father Deluol, but by no means is it as complete or as extensive. There are many references to Father Raymond in the rough draft of the Dialogue History of 1879 by the Rev. G. E. Viger, S. S.

1888. He was easily the best remembered and most revered member of the faculty at old St. Charles.<sup>45</sup> He is said to have done the work of three men from 1849 to 1870 and thereafter of two men until his death. He arose at 3:30 A. M. " and thus had broken the neck of the day's work, when others began to open their eyes to its dawn."<sup>46</sup> He learned English at the age of 28, and the mistakes he made in using the language were treasured by the boys for hours of merriment. He was the most celebrated disciplinarian in the history of St. Charles. Father Menu presided over innumerable classes, studies, recreations, a dormitory, and ceremonies. On hearing of his death, Cardinal Gibbons, an old pupil, exclaimed, "One of the pillars of the College is overthrown."<sup>47</sup>

Two well known teachers who came from St. Mary's College after its suppression were the Reverend J. B. Randanne, S. S., author of a celebrated Latin grammar, and the Reverend Peter Fredet, S. S., author of the widely used *Ancient History* and *Modern History*. Two teachers, then students in theology, in after years members of the hierarchy, were P. L. Chapelle, later Archbishop of New Orleans, and T. M. A. Burke, later Bishop of Albany. The most celebrated teacher, and the one most widely known, was the Reverend John B. Tabb, the poet, who was on the faculty in 1874-75, 1877-82, 1885 to his death in 1909. There were many other priests, mostly French, beloved by generations of boys: the Reverends H. M. Chapuis, S. S., S. Guilbaud, S. S., G. E. Viger, S. S., A. J. Vuibert, S. S., A. S. Fonteneau, S. S., C. J. Judge, S. S., P. P. Denis, S. S., P. F. Roux, S. S.

The first building, 80 by 60 feet, erected in 1832, was not fully complete in 1848. Substantially it was ready to receive a small community: with 45 students it was crowded. When Father Piot's legacy was received in 1840, the debts could be paid and some improvements made in the interior. In 1843 in his letter (*vide* note 23) to the Propagation of the Faith, Archbishop Eccleston had written that "we have not the funds required to complete it." When opened, the original building contained on its first floor

<sup>45</sup> The term "old" St. Charles is used of the school which opened in 1848 and which was destroyed by fire on March 16, 1911. The post office address was Ellicott City. The term "new" St. Charles is used of the same school which was transferred to Cloud Cap, Catonsville, after the fire.

<sup>46</sup> Viger, p. 36.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

a chapel, a study hall, a dining-room, a parlor, and a president's office. There was also a small kitchen-wing extending back from the refectory some forty feet. The second floor contained sleeping quarters and wash-rooms. The third floor and attic were unfinished.

In 1853, with 45 students, the house could accommodate no more.<sup>48</sup> By finishing the third floor and attic, and by rearranging the house (the chapel was moved to a larger room on the second floor), room was created, in 1855, for 70 students. By 1859, however, the house had grown to 102 students. The trustees thereupon added a wing to the west side of the house, 67 feet long, and made it higher and projecting so as to serve for a center building if a third wing should be added. As it developed, the third wing, corresponding exactly to the dimensions and form of the first building, was erected in 1859.<sup>49</sup> The house now had a frontage of 223 feet.<sup>50</sup>

The chapel was begun in 1860. This edifice was built attached to and running back from the third wing of the building. The plans for the chapel were designed by the Reverend Stephen M. Faillon, S. S., representative of the Superior-General of St. Sulpice, and official Visitor to the Society in the United States.<sup>51</sup> The chapel was modelled upon Sainte Chapelle of Paris. It was 110 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 50 feet from the floor to the apex of the arches.<sup>52</sup> A letter from a student to his uncle contains information concerning the laying of the corner stone:

On the 22nd inst. [May] the corner stone of the new chapel was laid. There were present at the ceremony, Most Rev. Archbishop Kenrick, a large number of the clergy of Baltimore, the greater part of the Seminarians, the Hon. Mr. Carroll, and many other friends of the institution. The other wing of the college which was not expected to be commenced for some years, is already begun.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Viger, p. 31.

<sup>49</sup> Journal of the Corporation, p. 51. Trustees' meetings, May 20, 1858; Aug. 2, 1859.

<sup>50</sup> Viger, p. 31. An account of this building which appeared in *The Sun* (Baltimore), Oct. 17, 1860, gives different figures and arrives at a total of 226 feet. The architect of the new wings was S. Robinson Powell, of Baltimore.

<sup>51</sup> *Vie de M. Faillon* (Paris: Jules Vic, Libraire, 1877), p. 250.

<sup>52</sup> For the width, *The Sun*, Oct. 17, 1860, gave 44 feet.

<sup>53</sup> Letter of J. P. Collon to James Dowling, May 30, 1860. (S.C.C.A.)

*The Sun*, of Baltimore, contained in its article of Oct. 17, 1860, the following description:

The Chapel will be finished upon the exterior with large buttresses, having moulded terminations. The interior will be arranged with triple columns, crowned with foliated capitals and moulded bases. The ribbing of the ceiling will have bosses at the intersection of the mouldings and heavy pendants where desired. The window casements, which are thirty feet high, will be filled in with scriptural illustrations in stained glass. Grained ceilings and trefoil paneling will embellish and ornament the galleries at the end of the chapel. The effect of the interior will be exceedingly fine.—Rev. O. L. Jenkins is the president of St. Charles College, and the institution owes much of its prosperity to his zealous labors.

There can be no doubt that what *The Sun* said about Father Jenkins is true, and no account of St. Charles College could be complete without some knowledge of him who has rightly been called the second founder. Born the son of Thomas Courtney Jenkins and Elizabeth Gould Jenkins<sup>54</sup> on June 17, 1813, Oliver Lawrence Jenkins was descended of an old and wealthy Maryland family. Of his earliest education we know nothing. He entered St. Mary's College on February 24, 1825, when less than twelve years of age. From St. Mary's he graduated with distinction on July 19, 1831, and, turning to a business career, took a position with the Union Bank of Baltimore. For ten years he worked in the bank, although during this period he found time to spend one year traveling in Europe with his brother Lewis, who was ill. Three years after his return, Oliver Jenkins entered St. Mary's Seminary, January 2, 1841. His talents were such that young Jenkins taught in the College while studying at the Seminary. He was ordained by Archbishop Eccleston, December 21, 1844. After ordination he continued to teach at St. Mary's College, in the meantime joining the Sulpicians. Here it was that his positive and practical turn of mind suggested him to Father Raymond as a man capable of heading an institution. His appointment to St. Charles followed.

Father Jenkins was president of St. Charles for one year, October 31, 1848, to September 1, 1849, when he was called to St. Mary's College. The change was occasioned by the inability

<sup>54</sup> Chart of the Genealogy of the Descendants of William Jenkins . . . by Mark W. Jenkins, prior to 1879. Maryland Historical Society.

of Father Raymond to preserve order and discipline at St. Mary's. A firm hand was needed at such time because the Sulpicians had decided on the suppression of an institution not strictly their work. After the suppression in 1852, Father Jenkins returned to spend the remainder of his active and varied life at St. Charles.

To him the school owes much. A man of family background and wealth, with a punctilious regard for propriety, and a deep reverence for authority, he was an ideal man to set the pattern of an institution. And set it he did. Discipline of mind, heart, and conduct was the order of the day. Strict as were the French Sulpicians regarding discipline, it was said Father Jenkins was stricter than any of them. Forwardness he could not understand, to say nothing of disobedience. Once when students applauded an announcement of his, he silenced them with the remark: "Stop that. I don't want it. If I allow you to do that, you would think yourselves justified also in hissing me if I announced what displeased you."<sup>55</sup>

The earliest catalogue (school year 1876-77) speaks of Father Jenkins as a man who "devoted his life and his fortune" to St. Charles. It is known he gave large sums to the school, but he never wanted his benefactions known. The catalogue of 1912-13 spoke of "his patrimony of about \$40,000." The following year the catalogue spoke of the patrimony as over \$60,000. The catalogue of 1914-15 stated: "The benefactions in money alone for which St. Charles is beholden to him, amounted to over \$70,000—a debt which other members of his distinguished family have since liberally enlarged."<sup>56</sup>

In the midst of a busy life, as teacher, as executive, and as builder,<sup>57</sup> Father Jenkins yet found time to prepare a text-book of English and American literature for use in Catholic schools.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> From the reminiscences of the Rev. A. J. Vuibert, S.S., as taken down by the Rev. John J. Jepson, S.S. (Ms.) (S.C.C.A.)

<sup>56</sup> Much of the information about Father Jenkins came from Father Viger. There was a rewriting of the catalogue in 1913 in which Father Jenkins was given a more prominent part. Since most records were destroyed by the fire, and admittedly Father Jenkins was extremely reticent about his gifts, any account of gifts must rely on little more than hearsay.

<sup>57</sup> Father Viger in notes for the Dialogue History of 1879 stated that during the years the chapel was being built, 1860-1866, Father Jenkins was never seen in recreation. Every spare minute of his time, not otherwise demanded by his official offices, he spent in working with his own hands in the building and finishing of the chapel.

<sup>58</sup> *Student's Handbook of English Literature* by the Rev. O. L. Jenkins, A.M., S.S., Twenty-eighth Revised Edition. (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1912). For a book

This book was left in manuscript and was put into book-form by J. Fairfax McLaughlin of Baltimore.<sup>59</sup> As the Handbook was the first of its kind, it met with instant success and was widely used in Catholic schools throughout this country and England. Few text-books can boast of so many editions.

The death of Father Jenkins on July 11, 1869, saw the institution flourishing beyond expectation. In those twenty years the faculty had grown from 2 professors to 13, and the students from 17 to 140. At his death, there were over a hundred alumni ordained priests. The work which Carroll founded and Jenkins began, was thus well on its way to fulfilling the aims of its founder. Unlike its predecessors, St. Charles has never opened its gates to any but those who hope to be priests. The 100 ordained alumni of 1869 have grown to 2,895 today with 417 alumni scattered in seminaries in the United States and Canada.

The life of St. Charles College and the meaning of a preparatory seminary have seldom been better told than in the words of the Rev. Eugene F. Harrigan, S. S., writing in the school's official publication, *The Borromeian*, December 15, 1923, in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of 1923. They may serve as a fitting conclusion to the work of St. Charles College, preparatory seminary, as it now completes its first hundred years and begins its second in the service of God, Church, and country:

While the exterior life of St. Charles does not differ to any great extent from that of the secular college the moral and religious training, which is its chief glory, imparts to the clerical candidate a spirit which is peculiarly his own; every detail of life, every prescription of the rule, is felt to be directed to the great end for which alone the house exists, the inculcation of the spirit of Christ. Though the administration of the house be in the hands of fallible agents, the direction of a boy's life is left to no uncertain human element; he is caught up by a system which is the fine fruit of long experience illumined by grace, worked out by men who thought of nothing but how to do Christ's work the more efficiently.

which went through so many editions, few copies are now available. It was used at St. Charles until 1931.

<sup>59</sup> J. Fairfax McLaughlin to the Rev. H. S. Ferté, March 22, 1872. S. C. C. A.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Woman with a Sword.* By HOLLISTER NOBLE. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948. 395 pp. \$3.00.

*Woman with a Sword* is a corking good novel about Anna Ella Carroll, the Eastern Shore lady whose status as an "unofficial member of Lincoln's cabinet" long has dangled between accepted history and legend.

Readers of this absorbing story will want to know where to draw the line between fact and fiction. Probably an exact demarcation never will be possible. Certainly Anne Carroll served the Union with a clear and forceful pen by turning out numerous articles and pamphlets, some of which were reprinted as State papers. A daughter of Thomas King Carroll, one-time Governor of Maryland, and kinswoman of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Dr. Henry Stevenson of Baltimore, undoubtedly she was an intelligent woman. By reason of a highly unusual education and business career, probably she was qualified to do all that her champions said she did. And those claims were not small. They held that Anne Carroll alone conceived the Tennessee Plan—the extremely important Union strategy which served as a basis for the successful splitting of the Confederacy from west to sea.

Examination of some of the materials upon which those claims were based lends plausibility to the belief that Anne Carroll did enter into planning. Her trip to St. Louis on some kind of military business, her discussions with the Mississippi River pilot, Charles M. Scott, as to the navigability of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers and her close association with Lemuel Evans, a Texas Federalist—these are all as unquestioned as her work with her pen. Thus, it is only fair to move her story from the realm of legend to that of possible or even probable fact.

Nonetheless, to the careful historian, the question of degree remains. While indirect or negative evidence to substantiate the sweeping claims made for her is plentiful, no contemporary and conclusive acknowledgment of her services exists. Unfortunately for Anne Carroll's place in history, her agreements with Union officials were informal; she had no contract, appeared on no payroll and worked in deep secrecy. Tradition has it that northern authorities dared not shatter whatever prestige their generals enjoyed by informing the public that detailed and vital strategy—the most successful strategy of the war from their point of view—had originated in the mind of a civilian and a woman; that revelation would have been made but for Lincoln's death and the subsequent, lengthy political turmoil.

Obviously, here is the stuff of a good story and Mr. Noble makes the most of it. His characters are consistent and real and his situations believable. He deftly sketches in the background of chaos and inefficiency,

suspicion and uncertainty which prevailed in northern officialdom during the war. He is especially clever at weaving excerpts from Carrollana into his dialogue. His action moves quickly and is effectively paced. At a point shortly after the assassination of Lincoln, he ends his tale.

But Anne Carroll lived on. Beginning in 1870, her wartime associates repeatedly petitioned Congress for recognition of, and reward for, her services. Thomas A. Scott, former Assistant Secretary of War, Senator Benjamin F. Wade, ex-Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and Lemuel D. Evans, wartime agent of the State Department and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Texas, were among those who several times testified under oath as to the extent and worth of Anne Carroll's work. Perhaps in their anxiety to see justice done they went too far for some of their statements practically award full credit for winning the war to the "woman with a sword." Yet, that these men should have conspired to establish a fraudulent claim for Anne Carroll strains both logic and credulity. In the novel, incidentally, Mr. Noble seizes on the known collaboration between his heroine and Evans for romantic interest.

Congressional committees invariably reported favorably on the petitions—and pigeonholed them. The "unofficial cabinet member" received only partial payment for her writing and that, she later discovered, came from Thomas Scott's own pocket; for whatever planning she may have done, she obtained neither cash nor recognition. Yet some committeemen believed. In 1881, a bill was drawn, but never introduced, to confer upon Anne Carroll emoluments equal to those of a major general—an action which Mr. Noble moves forward sixteen years and, by implication, assigns to Lincoln. This, together with making Anne Carroll some ten years younger, appears to be the author's most outstanding tampering with events as they are said to have happened. He does present the fantastic theory that the Civil War resulted from a deliberate plot originated by southern leaders as far back as the 1830's; here, however, Mr. Noble is faithfully reporting a belief of his heroine's.

In her declining years, Anne Carroll's misfortunes were complicated by illness and poverty. Her cause was taken up by leading Woman Suffragists. In those days, there could be no more certain kiss of death.

From this elaboration of Mr. Noble's theme, then, the reader must set his own boundary between fact and fiction. The novel is skillfully built on many actual events. All of it could have happened. Two more possibly significant facts come to mind—first, during all the years of the dreary petitioning of Congress, no military man of major stature contested the claims made for Anne Carroll; second, some Congressmen went to extraordinary length of specious reasoning to dodge the issue. In any event, *Woman with a Sword* is a first rate novel, and if the Maryland lady did not build a fire under Union generals, she certainly gave rise to an abundance of dense, warm smoke.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE

*Across the Wide Missouri.* By BERNARD DE VOTO. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. xxvii, 483 pp. \$10.00.

It is one of the curious twists of fortune that a history of American fur trading in the West should be of especial and local interest to the members of the Maryland Historical Society due to the fact that most of the illustrations in the book were painted on the spot by a Baltimore artist. The tradition of taking an artist on an expedition to record what is seen goes back centuries before the time of news photographers. The earliest printed book on travel, Breydenbach's *Peregrinations*, published at Mainz in 1486, has illustrations by an artist, Erhard Renwich of Utrecht, who had been taken on the journey to the Holy Land for this particular purpose. The custom continued and Delacroix's trip to Morocco in 1832 as the official painter of the Count de Mornay was another instance of the same thing. The news of this last may have been passed around among the travellers of the 1830's so that Captain William Drummond Stewart in making his preparations for a third trip from Saint Louis to Oregon in 1837 was led to seek out a painter to record the faces and scenes which meant so much to him. He chose Alfred Jacob Miller, a Baltimorean who had studied painting in Europe but who was temporarily seeking to make a living in New Orleans where Stewart was waiting to start on his third expedition.

Stewart's idea of taking his own artist along to paint what he saw, whether or not inspired by De Mornay's taking Delacroix to Morocco, was in any case a happy one. Miller, an excellent artist and careful one, also, insofar as we can now judge, left us the most accurate (and in many instances the earliest) pictorial record of this region that has come down to us. He painted portraits of many of the principal characters involved in the fur trading, pictures of scenes which are typical of the region, other pictures of scenes such as those of the everyday routine without which we would today be obliged to reconstruct the details from word descriptions, and scenes of the caravans and summer rendezvous which no other artist had the opportunity to paint, due to the brief period that the fur trading flourished. In this volume, profusely illustrated with 81 plates, 68 are taken from sketches and watercolours by Alfred Jacob Miller and these are less than half of the pictures of people and scenes which the artist has left to us.

In 1933 Mr. Macgill James and Miss Margery Whyte organized an exhibition of Miller's Indian paintings at the Peale Museum. The interest in his work naturally spread to the West and Mrs. Clyde Porter of Kansas City became an ardent collector which in due course led to this book by De Voto, as related by him. Miller's sketches and watercolours however cover a wider interest than just fur trading and it is probably high time that all of his sketches together with the notes made on the expedition in 1837 should be made readily accessible to all historians of the region. De Voto's book shows us how valuable his sketches are for historians.

MARVIN C. ROSS

*The Walters Art Gallery.*

*The Architecture of the Old South, The Medieval Style, 1585-1850.* By HOWARD [HENRY] CHANDELLE FORMAN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948. 203 pp., 285 illus. \$10.

Dr. Forman writes not about the Old South of ante-bellum plantation houses with Jeffersonian porticos and Greek Revival cornices but rather of the architecture of the first settlements in the Maryland and Virginia Tidewater. His period is the seventeenth century; his subject the survivals of English medieval architure in the early buildings of this region. The author's findings, based in large part upon excavations at St. Mary's City and Jamestown in which he took part, have already been published by him. They are restated here and supplemented by observations upon the contemporary town and country houses of Maryland and Virginia with brief reference to the Carolinas and Georgia. There is some mention of churches as well.

Since Fiske Kimball called attention to the strong medieval flavor of the wooden houses of seventeenth century New England with their steep gables and second story overhangs (1922) there has been growing recognition that the same characteristics prevailed in other parts of the country. Kimball himself cited the lost Bond Castle of Calvert County as a southern counterpart of the New England buildings. The Cupola House at Edenton, N. C., was established by Thomas Waterman (1941) as an early eighteenth century example of the same style. Many other instances were found to exist. Dr. Forman now brings these together and attempts to classify them according to methods of construction, plan and elevation in relation to their English prototypes.

Few readers will want to take issue with the author over his scheme of arrangement. The techniques of building are clearly described and demonstrated. The division of plan types seems soundly made and the recurrence of identical forms in Virginia and Maryland is extremely interesting. Where one does find fault, however, is with Dr. Forman's lack of thoroughness in dealing with certain aspects of his material. This is bound to distress all serious users of his book and to restrict the possibility of its being considered a definitive statement on the subject.

At the very outset his description of the first buildings on Roanoke Island is inadequate. He fails to employ the various literary sources for reconstructing the community and ignores Mr. Waterman's able interpretation of these writings (1941). No consideration is given to the early houses of the French in Florida in spite of the famous illustrations by Theodore de Bry, now newly published (1947). A chapter is devoted to the related seventeenth and eighteenth century buildings in Bermuda but no mention is made of the more important houses of the Barbadoes, despite Mr. Waterman's publication of Drax Hall and St. Nicholas Abbey in the *Art Bulletin* (1945). This is not mentioned in the Forman bibliography. Nor is there any reference to another of Mr. Waterman's articles, a study of three Virginia brick churches of the seventeenth century upon which Dr. Forman seems to have drawn for his text (*Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians*, 1944). In his analysis

of the Maryland cross type plan he mentions the Treasury at Annapolis but does not discuss it, although it is the only surviving example of the type, as he himself admits. The whole question of Susquehanna is for some reason excluded from the book. The chapter on South Carolina buildings of the Flemish-Jacobean style gives the impression of something compiled in haste and added at the last moment without sufficient study.

Even more serious than these omissions is the author's failure to reveal the sources for some of his reconstructions. St. Peter's Palace of 1639 at St. Mary's City is presented as a great square structure with hipped roof surmounted by a cupola and is advanced as a precedent for the later palace at Williamsburg. This statement, if properly supported, would be a discovery of the first importance. But Dr. Forman does not tell us how he reached his conclusions. To complicate the matter, he denies Waterman's claim that the destroyed Virginia house, Fairfield, of 1692 had the first hipped roof in the country, substituting the example of the long vanished Talbot County Court House of 1680 (where again no specific documents are quoted). But in this process Dr. Forman neglects the fact that he had already assigned a hipped roof to the reconstructed St. Peter's of 1639. Such contradictions as this destroy the reader's confidence and make him sceptical of the author's other unsubstantiated claims, as, for example, that some of the sash of Third Haven Meeting House of 1682 antedates the earliest recorded use of sash at the Capitol in Williamsburg in 1699.

Sometimes one disagrees with Dr. Forman about elements of design and construction which he considers to be purely medieval. In his effort to stress the importance of medieval survivals he has found them in certain elements of the great eighteenth century houses of Maryland and Virginia. Segmental arches are not *per se* medieval as anyone familiar with the rococo architecture of Europe and Latin America will readily concede. Segmental pediments indeed are one of the characteristic features of Italian Renaissance architecture. Also it is difficult to think of truncated pediments like the one at Stratford, which so obviously represents the effort of pretentious people to be classical, as anything but the Renaissance vagaries they are. In making these claims for great mansions Dr. Forman overstates and weakens his case. He seems to be right, however, when he argues that the medieval survivals in small houses were prolonged into the nineteenth century. It is to be regretted that the many plans of small houses, which constitute the bulk of the book's illustrations, were not drawn to scale.

Readers of Dr. Forman's book will be heartened to learn how many of these delightful small residences of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are still standing both in Maryland and Virginia. Because they are located for the most part on isolated farms in little visited parts of the states they are not nearly so well known as their counterparts in the towns of New England. A list of these houses in Maryland with indications of their exact whereabouts would be a most welcome and useful tool for this magazine to publish.

ROBERT C. SMITH

*University of Pennsylvania.*

## REPLY BY DR. FORMAN

There is some healthy criticism in this review, but much is superficial, and there are errors, as in the author's name.

This book is the first comprehensive history of the earliest architecture of the Old South, and it makes no claim to being "definitive." Florida and Barbadoes are not part of the Old South; Bermuda was included for purposes of comparison.

Space is lacking to correct many of the reviewer's statements. Regarding the Roanoke buildings, briefly described in an introductory chapter, reference (p. 6) for further study is made to the author's *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (1938) which the reviewer should recognize to be as "able" and full as Waterman's later interpretation of 1941. As for "St. Peter's Palace," by which the reviewer means St. Peter's or Governor's Castle (not to be confused with the Williamsburg "Governor's Palace"), it is an error to state that no sources are given. Page 108 states that "our excavations have revealed something of the original appearance," and page 112 cites the author's article in the *William and Mary Quarterly* for April, 1942, where the reviewer could have found that the reconstruction drawing was based partly on Kennedy's description in *Rob of the Bowl*. The whole detailed question as to similarity of the Castle to the Williamsburg "Palace" is taken up in that article. Since the drawing of the Castle is labelled "approximate" (p. 110), it is justifiable to assign to the Talbot Court House the first definitely known hipped roof in the colonies, and specific documents are cited (p. 132): the *Maryland Archives*. The secret of why the Treasury in Annapolis is not included lies in the words (p. 134), "well-known." Sash of 1682 for Third Haven is labelled (p. 145) "probable."

Authorities on early American architecture will recognize that there are relatively few books in this field as well documented as this one; the bibliography covers five large pages of small print.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

*Park Benjamin, Poet and Editor. Poems of Park Benjamin. Genealogy of Park Benjamin.* By MERLE M. HOOVER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. xii, 299 pp.; xiv, 209 pp.; ix, 78 pp. 3 vols. \$3.00, \$3.00, \$1.50.

These volumes may be used either independently of one another or as a set. A summary of ancestry and long poetical excerpts are included in the biography, and a sketch of the life of the subject appears in both other volumes.

The biography shows intensive primary research but is unsatisfactory. The preface states "no other editor is so typical, so symbolical," but the author fails to clarify Benjamin's relationships with the important figures and events of the day. If the contention is true, then the subject deserves

a more extensive treatment. For example, the author mentions a quarrel between Park Benjamin and Hawthorne, whom the former had, in great measure, introduced to the magazine reading public. As possible causes of the quarrel, are offered, with neither elucidation nor supporting circumstances, hypothetical loss by fire of Hawthorne's manuscripts and a severe review of the *Token*, edited by S. G. Goodrich, with whom Hawthorne was independently at odds (p. 72). Those who consider Park Benjamin less symbolical than does Mr. Hoover are apt to conclude that the space devoted would have been sufficient, had it been better utilized. The quotations are too long, too numerous, and insufficiently selective. There is considerable repetition. Some textual material should have been omitted, or at least relegated to footnotes.

Errors other than those of technique mar the biography. The author lacks the knowledge of American journalistic and political history needed properly to orient Benjamin in his environment. Surprising are such assertions as "Up to 1840 the presentation of news was more or less impersonal; a happening was recorded merely as a factual news item, with no reportorial coloring or interpretation" (p. 104). The quotation at the top of page 79 fairly represents Benjamin's 1837 stand on the Bank issue. He wished to allow every man to originate currency provided any one would accept it. Otherwise he was a Whig. The author contends that Benjamin's having entered partisan politics by publicly advocating Whig principles in the *American Monthly Magazine* was a primary factor leading to the demise of that periodical. The validity of this claim is open to serious question. Whatever merit it has seems to be attributable to the fact that Benjamin espoused too little rather than too much Whiggery. Making the situation worse, Mr. Hoover adds Benjamin's Bank policy "undoubtedly owed its inspiration to Horace Greeley. . . ." Needless to say, this conclusion is undocumented.

Less basic are certain stylistic mannerisms, and errors of inadvertence, such as the identification of Oliver Wendell Holmes as a gentleman disappointed with the study and practice of law (pp. 32-33).

Mr. Hoover acquits himself creditably in editing one hundred of Park Benjamin's poems. The poetry is characterized as acceptable if uninspiring, as being representative of the bulk of American verse in the antebellum years. The sonnets deserve recognition. The lecture in verse may cause bewilderment today, but it pleased audiences a century ago. The notes are brief but adequate.

The genealogy is well documented for the American generations, and, like the biography, is accompanied by an extensive bibliography. As Mr. Hoover implies, the question of armorial bearings is ambiguous.

JETER AND LISETTE ISELY

Princeton, N. J.

*Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks.* By FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the American Historical Association, 1948. xi, 301 pp. \$3.50.

Although Nathaniel Prentice Banks rose from a "bobbin boy" to Speaker of the House, major general of Volunteers, and governor of Massachusetts, he never really achieved lasting fame because he too often preferred the path of political expediency to that of principle. As a politician, he frequently wavered in his quest for votes. As a general, his record was no worse than some of the West Pointers although he failed in the field.

Of local interest is Banks' administration of the Department of Annapolis in 1861. At first Banks was popular, in a city of Southern hearts but Northern muskets, but he was later forced to adopt a policy of coercion. Although this policy was indirectly responsible for his relief, Banks' Maryland policies were approved by Harrington as the perfect pattern for reconstruction.

Professor Harrington has written a sympathetic and objective study which is both well organized and presented. Published under the auspices of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund of the American Historical Association, this book reveals exhausting research. His bibliography, however, would have been more complete had it included more items of the Civil War period now in the Society's possession, particularly the Edward F. Jones Papers. Its publication will, above all, prove the folly of placing military amateurs in positions of responsibility during war. Surely those accountable for our military security would do well to remember the lessons of cautiousness, indecisiveness, and general ineptitude brought out in *Fighting Politician*.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Travels in the Confederate States.* By E. MERTON COULTER. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. 289 pp. \$7.50.

The author of this book, a distinguished historian and editor, has here gathered together 492 bibliographical notices describing the most worthwhile of the vast number of published accounts of travellers in the Confederate States. Most of these works are rare and their authors otherwise undistinguished, so that the description of the work and the biographical material—however scant in some cases—should prove to be of capital importance to students of the Civil War and of Reconstruction. The entries are arranged alphabetically by the name of the author, but readers interested in special areas, engagements, subjects, etc. are admirably served by an excellent general index. Unfortunately, the price of this work is forbidding for individuals, but so valuable a scholarly tool should certainly find its way into the shelves of every first class library.

M. L. RADOFF

Hall of Records, Annapolis.

*Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Liberal.* By FRANK FREIDEL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. 445 pp. \$4.50.

Among the numerous German immigrants of the nineteenth century there were not many who surpassed Francis Lieber in intellectual stature and universal knowledge. In the beginning of his life there were years of wandering and adventures, failures and frustration. Not until he came to America, landing in Boston, 1825, did he find a useful place within the society of men. To be sure, he was a problematic figure, quite often querulous and cantankerous, and many of his friends suffered under his demanding, sometimes arrogant habits. Yet, what counts is that he came to America when he needed a field in which to work, and that he arrived at a moment when the country needed a man of his peculiar intellectual gifts. After many years of more or less hack work for publishers of encyclopedias, Francis Lieber was called to the chair of political science at the University of South Carolina. It was at Columbia S. C., that he wrote some of the works that established his fame. His greater opportunity came when he was, after twenty years in the South, made professor at Columbia University. His forceful personality has left its mark on the intellectual history of the United States. He is generally considered the father of political science as an academic field. His *Encyclopedia Americana* gave to thousands of Americans the most important means of self-education, at a time when formal schooling was still at a very low level. His two most outstanding works, *Political Ethics* and *Civil Liberty*, which for the first time linked systematically political theory with American reality were the political classics of the America of the nineteenth century. And the impact of one of his minor achievements, the codifying of the rules of war, is still felt in the American *Field Manual* of 1940.

Frank Freidel has given us with his book the first comprehensive critical Lieber biography. He used extensively the vast amount of untapped Lieber material preserved at the Henry Huntington Library and at the Johns Hopkins University, as well as letters and documents spread over various libraries and archives. The result is most gratifying. We now have a well-written account of one of the most versatile scholars in American history, a great theorist who did not lose himself in theorizing, but became a most useful citizen, a man who was something like an intellectual prism of the middle span of the nineteenth century.

DIETER CUNZ

*University of Maryland*

*Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Duke University Library.* Prepared by NANNIE M. TILLEY and NOMA LEE GOODWIN. [*Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, ser. XXVII-XXVIII (1947)]. Durham, N. C.: Duke University, 1947. 362 pp. \$2.00.

The publication of the long awaited guide to the manuscript collections of Duke university will be welcomed by all students of Southern

history, and especially by those interested in the nineteenth century. The *Guide* has been carefully compiled, the collections excellently described and the whole thoroughly indexed. Those interested in Maryland history will find a surprisingly large number of relevant entries. In addition to many minor items Duke possesses several substantial collections of papers of Marylanders. Among them are the collections of Charles Macgill, a surgeon of Hagerstown, William Briscoe Stone, a lawyer of Port Tobacco, Rear Admiral Lavallette and James A. Robertson, late Archivist of Maryland.

*The Macgill-McGill Family of Maryland: A Genealogical Record of over 400 Years, Beginning 1537, Ending 1948.* Compiled by JOHN McGILL. [Washington, D. C.: the author]. 1948. 262 pp. \$5.00.

This genealogy sets forth the descendants of the Rev. James Macgill, who was Rector of Queen Caroline Parish, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, from 1730 until his death in 1779. The compiler deserves great credit for this valuable work, to which he has obviously devoted an immense amount of time and labor, bringing down the lines to the present day wherever possible.

Many people of prominence are numbered among the descendants of Parson Macgill. The parson had a pedigree which he obtained from Scotland, upon which was based his claim to the title of Viscount Oxford, a claim which he is said to have dropped upon ascertaining that neither money nor lands went with it. It is unfortunate that Burke and another authority, unintentionally, cast a doubt on this pedigree, so that the genealogist hesitates to make use of it; for the burden of proof rests on them rather than on the parson, whom, at this late date, it would be unfair to accuse of attributing the wrong parentage to himself. The fact that gentle birth was probably a rarity among the clergy of the Church of England in his day should not be taken as contributing to the doubt. Rather, it should be remembered that Burke is by no means infallible.

The same modern tendency of families of old American stock to wither away, which we noted in our review of the Hoye genealogy, is observable here and there in this work, but we did not look closely enough to justify our preaching a sermon on the subject. It is cheering that a part of "Athol," the parson's landed estate, is still in the family.

W. B. M.

*Saint Memin Water Color Miniatures.* By J. HALL PLEASANTS. [Reprinted from the Walpole Society Notebook, 1947]. New York: the Society, 1947. 29 pp.

Once again the author illuminates a page of the history of American art by his acute observation and indefatigable research. Beginning with a few pencil and wash drawings which excited his interest, Dr. Pleasants

rounded up a total of 18 miniature paintings by St. Memin which had escaped the notice of other students. Like the well known crayon drawings on pink paper and the medallion engravings made from them, these miniatures are also in profile. Thirteen of them are signed, either "St. Memin fecit" or "St. M. ft." Four of these water colors are in the Redwood collection of the Maryland Historical Society. The pamphlet is embellished by 17 reproductions.

*History of Havre de Grace.* By ELIAS W. KIDWILER. [Havre de Grace: Press of the Havre de Grace Record, 1947]. 65 pp.

Here is a short but lively sketch of a historic community, the site of which was first known as Harmer's Town, later as Susquehanna Lower Ferry. During the War of 1812 Havre de Grace was sacked and burned. The author makes the most of John O'Neill's heroism, and draws on his imagination to fill in details of the story that were not vouchsafed by earlier historians. The pamphlet contains information on fisheries, canneries, the port, railroads, hotels and prominent citizens.

*Steam Navigation on the Carolina Sounds and the Chesapeake in 1892.* By SAMUEL WARD STANTON. Index and Foreword by Alexander Crosby Brown. (Reprint Series No. 4, Steamship Historical Society of America.) Salem, Mass.: the Society, 1947. 31 pp.

This pamphlet furnishes interesting data on the steamships operating on the Chesapeake 1813 through 1892 and supplies drawings of many of them. The articles by Stanton first appeared in the *Seaboard* magazine for April, May and June, 1892.

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*Israel in Berkshire: Edgar Allan Poe's Visit to Reading [Pa.] March, 1844.* By J. BENNETT NOLAN. Reading: Published for the Bicentennial of Reading, 1948. 31 pp.

*Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Its Economic Development and Potentials.* [By the Staff of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Maryland. (Studies in Business and Economics, Vol. 2, No. 1)]. College Park: the Bureau, [1948]. 79 pp.

*The Origin and the Chronology of Clipper Ships.* [By BERNARD BERENSON, M. D.: privately printed, 1947]. 14 pp.

*The Scheide Library: A Summary View of its History and its Outstanding Books.* By JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton, N. J.: privately printed, 1947. 172 pp.

*Checklist of the Portraits in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.* By FREDERICK L. WEIS. Reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the . . . Society for April, 1946. Worcester, Mass.: the Society, 1947. 76 pp.

*History of the Baltimore Music Club, 1923-1948.* By MARIAN E. LANSBURGH. [Baltimore: the Club, 1948]. 25 pp.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### FRESCO PAINTER, ANNAPOLIS

The following is taken from the *Maryland Gazette*, of Annapolis, Jan. 20, 1774.

TO THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

SAMUEL RUSBATCH, late pupil to Robert Maberly Esq; coach and herald painter, and varnisher to their majesties and the royal family; proposeth (under the direction of Joseph Horatio Anderson, architect in Annapolis) to carry on all the various branches of coach and herald painting, varnishing and gilding; as well plain as in the most decorated taste. Also painting in fresco, cire-obscur, decorated ceilings for halls, vestibules, and saloons, either in festoons of fruits, flowers, figures or trophies. Carved ornaments in deception, gilding and burnishing in the neatest manner. As well house-painting, in distemper as dead whites, as in the common colours, &c. Those ladies and gentlemen who please to favour him with their commands, may depend on his speedy execution: which he flatters himself will soon recommend him to the favour of the public.

N. B. All letters and orders, sent or directed to Mr. Anderson (as above) will be particularly attended to.

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*Barr*—Would like names of the parents of Thomas Barr, my grandfather, born 1800 and reared near Mt. Sterling, Montgomery County, Kentucky. He died 1865. In 1828 he married Martha McCreary Tipton daughter of Solomon Tipton and Margaret Bradshaw of Montgomery County, Ky. Their sons were David, William, James and Dr. Edward Tipton Barr, my father. Family tradition says that two Barr brothers (one of them the father of my Thomas) migrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky soon after the Revolution. The uncle of Thomas moved on over to Indiana or Illinois. The Tipton family, originally from Baltimore, settled in 1760 near Winchester, Virginia, and then in 1789 the whole Tipton tribe of fathers, brothers, wives and children settled near Mt. Sterling, Ky.

LOCKWOOD BARR,  
Room 1066, 60 East 42nd St.,  
New York 17, N. Y.

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*Oliphant*—According to family tradition,—Oliphant, son of a shipping merchant in Charleston, S. C., around 1800 or later left college and came to Baltimore on business for his father. He settled here and about 1830-

34 married a Miss Bell. The son, Joseph, born 1836, worked in the quarries at Texas, Baltimore County, married a widow, Georgeanne \_\_\_\_\_, née Tidings (or Jamart), 1860 or 1861, and lived on S. Caroline St. They had children Joseph, Nora, Lydia, William and Louis, born between 1863 and 1872. Information concerning this family and its connection with the Oliphants in Charleston is desired.

MRS. LOUIS WENK,  
946 Montpelier St., Baltimore 18, Md.

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*Lackland*—Wish information regarding Ann Lackland who on Dec. 24, 1798, married George William Higgins of Anne Arundel or Prince George's County. Also desire names of parents of Mary Bird, born 1787, wife of Samuel Davidson, born 1783, both buried at All Hallows Church, Anne Arundel Co. Also parents of Rachel \_\_\_\_\_ who married (1) Thomas Medford, son of Bulmer and Fortune Medford, of Kent Co., Md., (2) Francis Barney. She was born 1665, died June 24, 1719. Could her name have been McCall?

MRS. J. R. GROVE,  
21 Prospect Hill Ave., Summit, N. J.

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*Grants-in-Aid*—The Institute of Early American History and Culture has announced that it will make a number of grants-in-aid in the field of American History before 1815. These grants will be made for full time research on work already in progress and will not exceed \$1,000. Announcement of awards will be made on May 15, 1949. All applications should be filed not later than March 15, 1949. Requests for information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

Associate professor of Italian at Columbia University, DR. MARRARO is the author of *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861*, and other works. Under a grant from the Council for Research in the Social Sciences he is preparing a two-volume study of our diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. ☆ DR. EZELL received his graduate degrees from Harvard University and is now assistant professor of history at the University of Oklahoma. His contribution is a part of an extensive study of American lotteries in earlier times. ☆ Member of the firm of Wrenn, Lewis and Jencks, Mr. Lewis is a practicing architect of Baltimore. ☆ FATHER TIERNEY is a graduate of St. Charles College and of St. Mary's Seminary, and took the Master's degree at Catholic University. He is a member of the faculty of St. Charles and is engaged in writing the official history of that institution.

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